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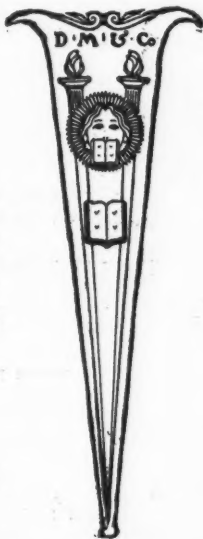
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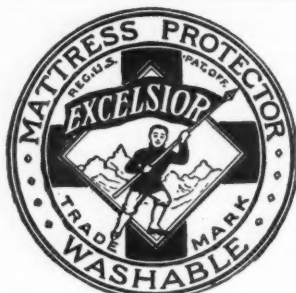
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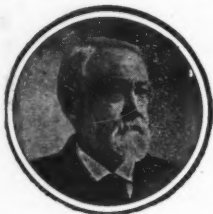
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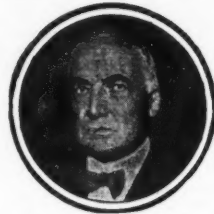
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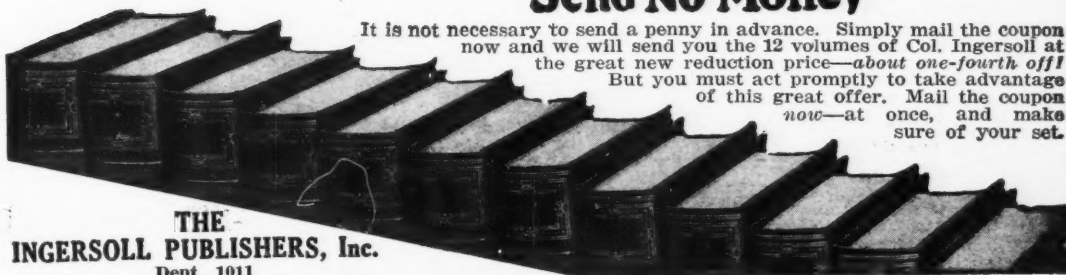
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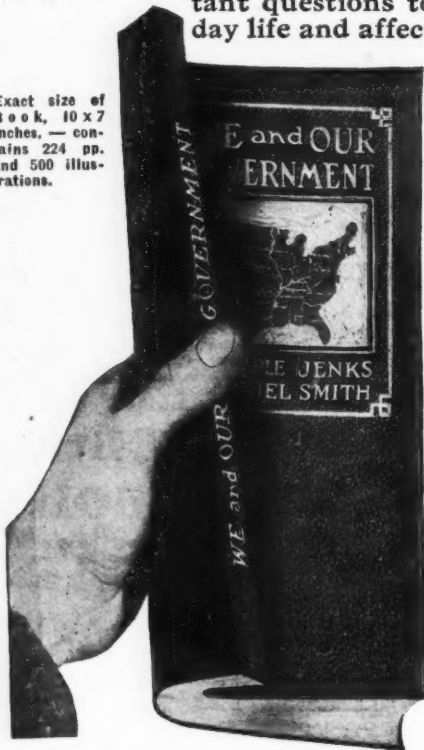
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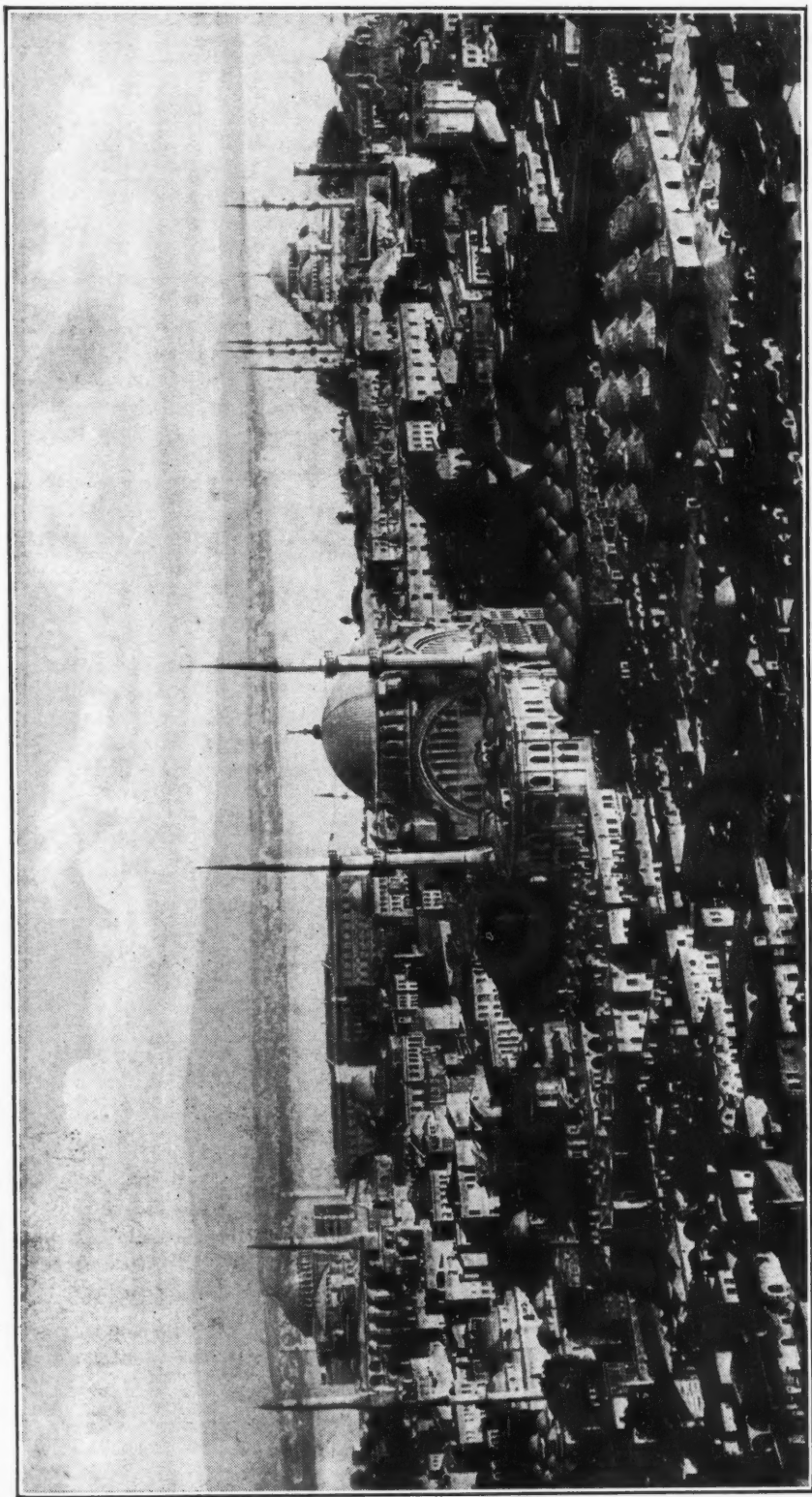
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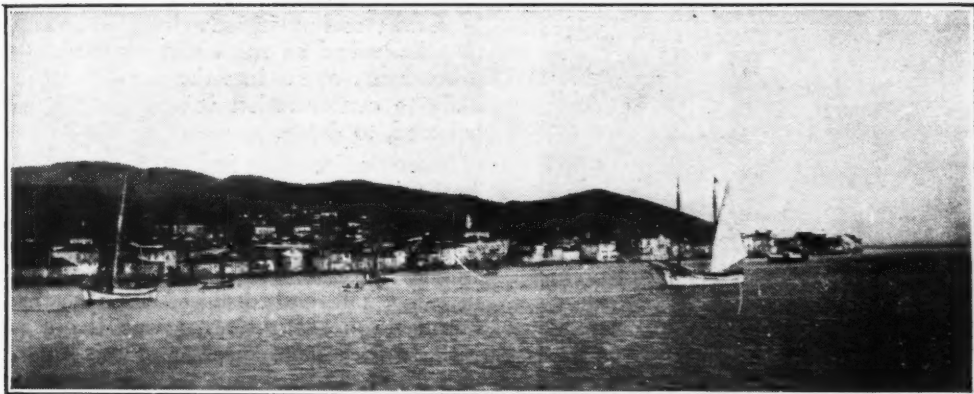
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(Photo International)

City and Harbor of Constantinople, the chief prize for which Greece and Turkey, and Great Britain as well, have been contending in the recent dangerous crisis in the Near East. At the left is the Mosque of St. Sophia, in the centre the Ministry of Justice, and at the right the Mosque of Ahmed





View of Mudania, the picturesque town on the Sea of Marmora where the historic armistice conference was held which ended the fighting between the Greeks and Turks

# THE NEW TURKISH CRISIS



*How Smyrna was laid in ruins by an incendiary fire soon after the entry of the Turkish troops—Alleged Turkish atrocities—Scenes of horror and turmoil attending the evacuation—War barely averted between England and Mustapha Kemal*

THE disquieting situation in Asia Minor, brought about by the Turkish victory over the Greeks late in September and the capture of Smyrna, soon turned into tragedy. Three days after Mustapha Kemal made his triumphal entry into the former Greek city, the town was swept by a devastating fire of incendiary origin, which started in the Greek and Armenian quarter, reduced the entire western portion of the town facing the waterfront to ruins, and left a hundred thousand people homeless (Sept. 14). The total loss was estimated at \$200,000,000; the loss to American stocks and property alone amounted to \$3,000,000. Approximately 1,000 people perished in the flames.

The Turkish officers, according to reliable evidence, at first strove to preserve

order, but the Turkish soldiers, infuriated by the devastation wrought by the Greek forces in their retreat on Smyrna, by an alleged bomb outrage after the Turkish entry into Smyrna, and by inveterate racial hatreds, got out of hand, looted and killed, and some 300,000 refugees were thrown into a panic. Vast throngs, fearing massacre, fled to the waterside and, densely crowded on the quay, pleaded piteously to be taken off by the American cruisers and other foreign ships anchored there; many, in despair, plunged into the cold waters of the harbor and sought to swim to the American warships, which could not take them off. The American bluejackets rescued many from drowning, and, deeply moved by their distress, but forced to turn a deaf ear to their frantic appeals, brought them back



(© Keystone)

**MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA**  
An unusual photograph of the Turkish leader in civilian clothes

to land. Indescribable scenes of human anguish were witnessed; mothers wading out waist-deep into the water, holding their babies high above their heads, and mutely appealing to the silent and inexorable ships; hundreds of orphaned children, huddled together in bewilderment on the quay; the tragedy of separated families, on which the shadow of death and suffering had descended; the epic and immemorial wailing of women; while behind, like a sinister frame, rose the black pall of smoke from the smoldering embers of 25,000 homes. The comparatively few American relief workers at hand struggled heroically against heavy odds, including lack of food and clothing and unspeakable sanitary conditions. The terror of the refugees was increased by the acts of the Turks, who under official orders executed a number

of Greek and Armenian refugees whom they described as spies and traitors, and drove many others into the interior, ostensibly to concentration camps, but, as all believed, to death.

Many evidences indicated that the Turks themselves had kindled the fire with deliberate purpose; this the Turks denied. General Pellé, the French High Commissioner at Constantinople, made an official investigation, and declared that he had found no proof that this was the case. Edward S. Fisher, Director of the American Y. M. C. A., reported, on the other hand, that he had seen with his own eyes wide streams of kerosine running through the street on which the American Consulate was located, and that quantities of bedding and clothing dropped by the fear-crazed refugees had been set on fire by the Turks. Similar evidence was given by British refugees on their arrival at Malta and was



(Photo Underwood &amp; Underwood)

**HENRY FRANKLIN-BOUILLON**  
French Minister of Missions Abroad, who played a prominent part in the Mudania Conference

confirmed by the Dean of the American College Institute and by other witnesses.\*

The Near East Relief on Sept. 16 sent an urgent appeal to the United States to contribute to an emergency relief fund, and prepared to rush all possible aid to the victims of the disaster. An emergency Senate appropriation of \$200,000 was asked for by President Harding for the relief of some 1,000 American refugees in Smyrna and the Near East; later twelve American cruisers were ordered to Smyrna to protect American interests; otherwise the President and the Secretary of State declared that they would confine their efforts solely to humanitarian measures, and would take no military action, and Rear Admiral Bristol, the American High Commissioner, was so instructed.

Admiral Bristol, after some negotiation, succeeded in gaining Kemal Pasha's permission to have the refugees taken off by Greek and allied ships, and himself chartered two ships for this purpose, and the difficult task of evacuation was finally gotten under way. The Greeks co-operated actively from Athens, and sent fifteen Greek ships, which began a ferry service to the island of Mitylene. Some 15,000 refugees were embarked in four hours, the evacuators working with feverish haste, as the period for evacuation fixed by Kemal Pasha ended on Sept. 30. Scenes of turmoil and panic marked these departures. Hundreds of frightened refugees were beaten by the Turkish soldiers, and were bruised and trampled. The Americans evacuated 74,000 in the last two days of September, Saloniki, Rodosto, and the Islands of Mitylene and Chios were in an evil plight, without food and overcrowded; 200,000 were facing starvation on Mitylene alone. Conservative estimates at this time placed the number of sufferers at all points at 400,000. The confusion, already great, was rendered indescribable by the utter breakdown of all administrative processes in all the Greek outlying territories, due to a successful revolution at Athens, which dethroned King Constantine and brought a revolutionary Government into existence. The embarkations continued after the first of October, despite the time limit set by the Turks; an extension to Oct. 8 was obtained.

\*See Turkish charge against Greeks, p. 317.



GENERAL SIR CHARLES HARINGTON

Dr. Estlier Lovejoy, President of the American Women's Hospital at Constantinople, declared after a week's survey in Smyrna that the real story of fire and horror had not been told, and related most pitiful scenes of which she had been the witness, including revolting instances of outrages by the Turkish troops on defenseless women. (Subsequently, on her arrival in Paris, she confirmed and amplified her story of outrage and atrocity and gave it to the press. Robbery, brutal beating and wholesale violation were among her charges. She admitted that she did not believe the Turkish officers knew the deeds being committed by the Turkish soldiers.) From her investigation she received evidence that there still remained many thousands of Christians in Smyrna and the interior whose lives were in peril. The evacuation continued, but was confined to women and old men; all males between 15 and 50 were seized by the Turkish authorities and dispatched to the barren hills of the hinterland. This was the sit-

uation at Smyrna at the time when these pages went to press.

The political aspect of the Smyrna tragedy must now be followed. With the capture of Smyrna by the Nationalist Turks, and the moving of their forces northward toward the Straits, the danger that they would cross the water and pursue the Greeks into Thrace, the recovery of which was one of the cardinal points of the Turkish National Pact,\* aroused commotion in the Balkan States. Reports that Bulgaria and Rumania approved the French view that armed force should not be used by the Allies to prevent the Turks from crossing, and that Bulgaria might join the Turks in order to force through her lost outlet on the Aegean, led Italy on Sept. 21 to send an official communiqué to Rumania declaring that the Italian Government would not allow Bulgaria to change the present status quo in the Balkans, and that any attempt to do this would be met by armed force. Rumania, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia remained quiescent, and the fear of a new Balkan conflagration did not materialize. Bulgaria on Sept. 25 officially informed the Allies that it had no pro-Turkish or individual plans, and would support allied policy. The Bulgarian Parliament on Oct. 6 voted approval of the Government's declaration that "Bulgaria will remain neutral in the Near East controversy under all circumstances." The nation's gates were opened wide to all Smyrna refugees.

The Greek reaction to the Asia Minor defeat was mainly concentrated in the fear that the Turks would occupy Thrace by force, and in the national determination to prevent this. The Cabinet of Premier Triantafyllakos set forth this resolution in the most emphatic language. "We have lost Asia Minor, but we must keep Thrace" was the sentiment universally expressed. Measures to reorganize the Greek forces in Thrace were taken, and it was decided that ex-Premier Venizelos, who was living in exile in Switzerland, should be asked to plead Greece's right to retain Thrace in London and Paris. After the fall of the Triantafyllakos government, and the rise to power of the revolutionary government headed by Colonel Gonatas, these policies

were continued. Volunteers poured into Thrace by the thousands, and the Greek commander of the Thracian forces declared on Oct. 9 that the forces there would defend the province to the last, irrespective of what the allied and Turkish Generals decided at the armistice conference. Meanwhile ex-Premier Venizelos fought a courageous but losing fight at Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay to persuade England and France to refuse the Turkish demand for Thrace.

This demand the Turks made a *sine qua non* of any armistice. Kemal Pasha imperiously demanded that Thrace be returned to Turkey, and that the Greek forces must evacuate the province at once. (This applied to all of Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople and the territory to the Maritza River; the fate of Western Thrace, according to the National Pact, the Turks were willing to have decided by a plebiscite.) Allied with the Thracian question was that of the final disposition of the Dardanelles, on whose internationalization Great Britain strongly insisted. The Turks were greatly incensed when they sought to bring their forces to the Straits preparatory to crossing over into Thrace, to find their way barred by the British forces at Chanak, on the coast of the Aegean Sea, and loudly condemned the British for this interference; they further maintained that the so-called "neutralization" on which the English insisted meant merely the retention of British control. The British Government remained firm in its insistence that the Straits must not be crossed, and that the Turks must not invade the so-called neutral zone, representing a line drawn on the Asiatic side, including the Straits and the Bosphoros, and taking in a band of territory on the European or Thracian side. On Sept. 15 the British Government decided, with French approval, to send a note to Mustapha Kemal warning him that both sides of this neutral zone must remain inviolate. Mustapha Kemal refused to recognize this neutral zone unless the Allies pledged themselves to return Thrace at once to Turkey. Meanwhile the Turkish leader began to mass his troops at Ismid (at the eastern end of the neutral zone on the Asiatic side) and to close in on the British forces at Chanak, near the Straits. (Sept. 17). The situation became men-

\* See the text of this organic "Bill of Rights" of the Angora Parliament published elsewhere in these pages.

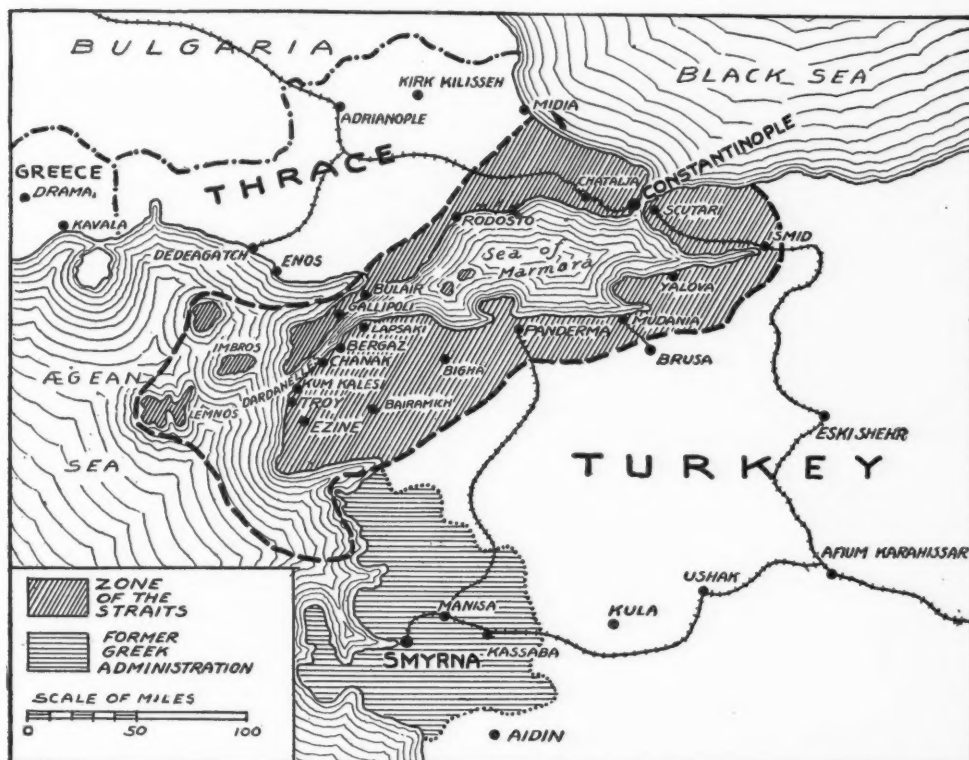


acing, and the possibility of an imminent British-Turkish clash could not be excluded. Some hope, however, was based on the efforts of General Pellé, the French High Commissioner, who had gone to Smyrna to see Mustapha Kemal, to persuade him to adopt a more moderate policy.

Premier Lloyd George, meanwhile, took up the Turkish challenge, and adopted a strong attitude. A British note was sent to Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece, urging their participation in an effective defense of the Straits. An appeal to the British dominions met with an enthusiastic response. This question, declared the British official statement, involved not only British interests, but European interests in general, and world interests of the first order. The permanent freedom of the Straits, it declared, was a vital necessity. If that were given up, it was added, all the results of the victory over Turkey in the World War would be destroyed. With Constantinople the case was different, and

it was intimated that the Turkish capital would be evacuated if the allied conditions were satisfactorily fulfilled. The return of Eastern Thrace to Turkey, under guarantees, had already been agreed upon, much to the perturbation of the Greeks, who were determined to fight to retain it. While Lord Curzon went to France to consult with the French Government leaders and to secure full and specific French approval of the British program, the entire British Atlantic fleet was dispatched to the Dardanelles to cover the British force at Chanak. Meanwhile British reinforcements, with heavy artillery, were rushed to Chanak, where entrenchments were thrown up. All this time the Turks were drawing ever closer around the British forces.

A split between England and France came on Sept. 19, when Premier Poincaré, backed by the whole French Cabinet, decided that force should not be used, and advised the withdrawal of the British from Chanak and the acceptance of an offer



Map of Turkey, Thrace, the neutralized Zone of the Straits and the former Greek concession around Smyrna, all of which are undergoing a change of status because of the Turkish Nationalist victory in Asia Minor

received by Paris from Mustapha Kemal, promising not to attack the neutral zone provided that he receive pledges from England, France and Italy that Turkey should be immediately given Eastern Thrace up to the Maritza River, including Adrianople and Constantinople, and also promising to consent to any "reasonable" assurance of the freedom of the Straits and to the establishment of an international commission of control. This scheme, combined with a new demand that the Greeks evacuate Thrace at once, and that the Turks occupy it, Lord Curzon found himself unable to accept, and the interallied conference adjourned to enable him to receive instructions from London. The crisis came on Sept. 21, when Lord Curzon informed the French that the British categorically refused to withdraw their troops from Chanak, despite news received that both the French and Italians had withdrawn their forces from the neutral zone and had left the English isolated on the peninsula, to face the Turks alone. The British also refused to concede the Turkish claims to Thrace, Adrianople and Constantinople in advance of a peace conference. These two decisions came as a great disappointment to French hopes of a peaceful settlement, in which their Turkish protégés would receive the winning cards.

All eyes were now centred on General Harington, the British commander of the allied forces, who was strenuously defending British prestige at Constantinople. British trust in the calmness, moderation and diplomatic ability of this officer was more than justified by the result. Though warning the Turks that they must not violate the neutral zone, on penalty of immediate opening of hostilities, he used all his power of persuasion to convince them that Great Britain did not desire war and would do all she could to avert it. The Turks, however, seized the town of Ez-zin, on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles, and closed in on Kum-Kalesi, an important key position on the south side of the Straits (Sept. 22), within the area recently evacuated by the French and Italians. On this date General Pellé returned from Smyrna and admitted that he had had no success in persuading Mustapha Kemal to abandon his intention to cross the Straits and

occupy Thrace. At this point the French and Italians, alarmed by the situation, gave in to the British, and in a momentous conference in Paris on Sept. 23 decided on the sending of a joint note to Kemal Pasha, promising that the Turks should have full sway over Anatolia and Thrace up to the Maritza River and possession of Constantinople, and that the Straits should be placed under the guardianship of the League of Nations. This was agreed to by Premier Poincaré, Lord Curzon and Count

[American Cartoon]



—Chicago Tribune

BREAKIN' THE BRIC-A-BRAC

[American Cartoon]



—Sacramento Bee

HAS ANY ONE SEEN THE OFFICER ON THE BEAT?

Sforza after a long and animated debate and in the face of failure the day before to reach any understanding. Concessions were made by the British to bring about harmony. The note embodying these new proposals, which sounded the death knell of Greek aspirations, urged an immediate meeting of the allied, Turkish and Greek Generals at Mudania, Asia Minor, to formulate terms of an armistice pending a peace conference to be held at Venice or elsewhere. The note read as follows:

The three allied Governments ask the Government of the National Grand Assembly to be good enough to let them know if it is disposed to send without delay representatives with full powers to a meeting to be held at Venice or elsewhere and to which will be invited also, with the representa-

tives of Turkey, plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Rumania, Jugoslavia and Greece.

This meeting will take place as soon as necessary arrangements are made by the Governments concerned. The object of this meeting will be to negotiate and consolidate a final treaty of peace between Turkey, Greece and the allied powers.

The three Governments take this opportunity to declare that they view with favor the desire of Turkey to recover as far as the River Maritza and including Adrianople.

On condition that the Angora Government does not send armies during the peace negotiations into zones, the provisional neutrality of which has been proclaimed by the allied Governments, the three Governments will willingly support at the conference attribution of these frontiers to Turkey, it being understood that steps will be taken in common agreement in the treaty to safeguard the interests of Turkey and her neighbors, to demilitarize, with a view to the maintenance of peace in certain zones to be fixed; to obtain peaceful and orderly re-establishment of Turkey's authority, and finally to assume effectively under the League of Nations maintenance of the freedom of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, as well as protection of religious and racial minorities.

For the rest, the three allied Governments will willingly support the admission of Turkey to the League of Nations. They are in agreement in reaffirming their assurance, given in March last, that they will withdraw their troops from Constantinople as soon as the treaty of peace has entered into force.

The three allied Governments will use their influence to procure before the opening of the conference the retirement of the Greek forces to a line to be fixed by the allied Generals in agreement with the Greek and Turkish military authorities.

In return for this intervention the Government of Angora will undertake not to send troops, either before or during the peace conference, into the zones of neutrality which have been previously declared and not to cross the Straits or the Sea of Marmora. In order to fix the above-mentioned line, a meeting might immediately take place between Kemal Pasha and the allied Generals at Mudania.

The allied Governments are convinced that their appeal will be listened to and that they will be able to collaborate with the Turkish Government and their allies to establish peace, for which the whole civilized world is longing.

POINCARE.  
CURZON.  
SFORZA.



(© Clinedinst)

REAR ADMIRAL MARK L. BRISTOL  
Commander of United States naval forces in  
Turkey, who took an active part in saving  
the Smyrna refugees

In an official statement issued at this time, the British Government declared that it desired nothing for itself, and was merely striving to secure the freedom of the Straits. Lloyd George also drove this point home in a public interview with rep-

representatives of the British press in Downing Street. (Secretary Hughes for the United States announced his approval of this program.) New uneasiness was caused by the Turks' seizure of Eren-Keui (ten miles south of the British positions at Chanak) and Kum Kalesi, near the Straits, on Sept. 25. General Harington at once sent a message to Mustapha Kemal, demanding that he order his forces' withdrawal. The situation was tense, and no one knew what the outcome would be. It was felt that a spark would be enough to bring about a sudden explosion of hostile forces, and the close proximity of the Turks to the British was considered alarming. Constantinople was in a turmoil, and British civilians were departing in all haste. The Sultan was overcome by the report that Mustapha Kemal would appoint a Nationalist Grand Vizier in Constantinople to represent the Angora Government, and by fear of Kemal's intention to depose him. Several members of his Cabinet handed in their resignations, notably those who had been distinguished

by their anti-Nationalist policy. As the Turks crept closer and closer to the British land forces, the British ships in the Straits grimly prepared for battle. All hopes of a peaceful settlement disappeared with the receipt by General Harington (Sept. 29) of Kemal Pasha's reply to the British commander's ultimatum to withdraw. The Turkish leader refused to leave the neutral zone, and made a counter-demand that the British evacuate Chanak, on which condition he promised a "slight withdrawal."

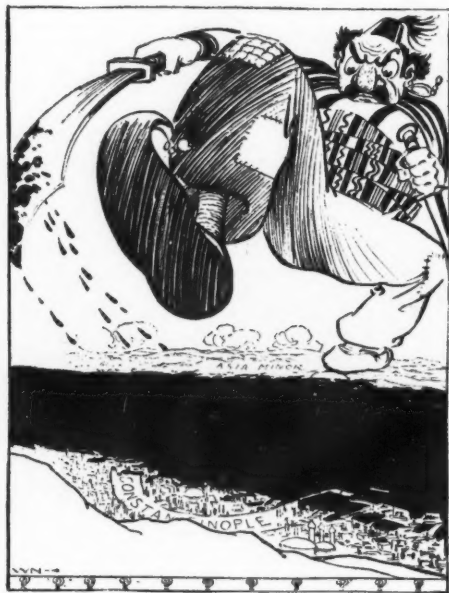
Just as all hope was vanishing, however, Mustapha Kemal, influenced, it was said, by the earnest representations of Henry Franklin-Bouillon, the French representative who had negotiated the Franco-Turkish treaty at Angora, and whom the French Government had sent in haste to Smyrna to exert pressure on the Turkish leader, decided to accept the allied invitation for an armistice. The whole situation changed at once, and the skies became clearer. The formal reply to the allied note of Sept. 29 was not transmitted until

[American Cartoon]



—© New York Tribune  
WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO WHEN A  
FELLOW THAT WAS CALLED OUT ON  
FIRST INSISTS ON STEALING HOME?

[Scottish Cartoon]



—Glasgow Bulletin  
WILL HE MAKE A SPANG AT IT?



Oct. 5. It intimated that Constantinople and Thrace must be ceded to Turkey, and that the Turkish Government would consent to some satisfactory solution of the Straits problem; on this last point, however, it insisted that Russia had a right to be consulted, and urged that she be invited to participate at the armistice conference. Regarding the allied proposal for a peace conference, the note suggested that this be held at Smyrna on Oct. 20. (The selection, the devastated and burned city where the Turks were supreme, as the place of meeting met with an extremely cold reception at the hands of the British Government.)

The Turkish forces, following the acceptance of the allied proposal, were withdrawn from Eren-Keui, and all military movements were temporarily suspended; the danger of an Anglo-Turkish clash was thereby considerably lessened. The French Government announced on Oct. 1 that the French envoy had fixed the date for the opening of the armistice meeting for Oct. 3, at Mudania.

The conference between the Allies, Greeks and Turks opened under favorable auspices. Kemal Pasha's General-in-Chief, Ismet Pasha, showed a very conciliatory attitude, and the French, British, Italian and Greek delegates at first found their way smooth to the arrangement of an immediate armistice, but when the negotiations seemed to be approaching a successful climax a sudden crisis was precipitated (Oct. 5) by the aggressive attitude of Ismet Pasha regarding Thrace. His demand that the Greeks evacuate the province at once, and his threat that otherwise the Turkish Army would drive them out, evoked angry protests from the Greek Generals, and the dramatic intervention of the French delegates (General Charpie and Henry Franklin-Bouillon) in support of the Turkish demands led to adjournment pending the receipt of instructions from the British, Italian and Greek Governments. The allied Generals soon afterward sped back to Constantinople on allied warships to consult with the respective High Commissioners. The Greek delegates re-

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association

"LET US SIT UPON THE GROUND AND TELL SAD STORIES OF THE DEATH OF KINGS."—King Richard II., Act iii., Sc. 2

[English Cartoon]



—Passing Show, London

AESOP UP-TO-DATE

"And the dog, in its greed, grabbed at the reflection, and so lost the bone. \* \* \*"

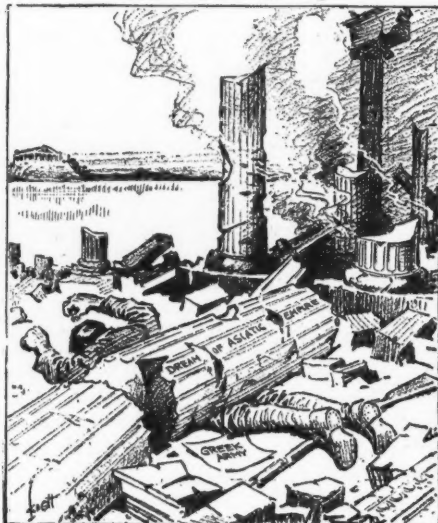
[American Cartoon]



—Galveston News

COMING BACK?

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

ANOTHER GRECIAN RUIN

mained at Mudania. On the following day (Oct. 6) the Kemalists presented the allied representatives with a virtual ultimatum; in their note they rejected the allied proposal for the occupation of Thrace by 1,000 interallied troops and for the establishment of allied control commissions in the province. They refused to put off occupation until after the peace conference, and demanded acceptance of their terms within six hours. On this date it was learned that the Italian Government had instructed General Mombelli, the Italian representative, who had previously backed Great Britain, to support the Turkish demands.

All now hung on Great Britain's decision, with the Turks impatiently awaiting reply and declaring that they could not hold the Turkish Army in leash much longer. Cabinet meetings were held in

[German Cartoon]



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

DOG AND CAT IN THE NEAR EAST

FRANCE: "Don't egg on your Greek dog."

JOHN BULL: "And don't mess about with your Angora cat."

[American Cartoon]



—New York Times

## ANOTHER PHOENIX

Like the Mythical Bird that was Burned and then Born Anew from the Ashes of Its Nest

London and Paris, with Lord Curzon in Paris laboring with Premier Poincaré, and, though the situation was felt to be grave, hope of a solution was not abandoned. On Oct. 7 it was announced that Lord Curzon and the French Premier had reached an agreement for common action by Great Britain and France and that England had accepted it. The Greek Army was to be "invited to evacuate Eastern Thrace on the understanding that the Allies should occupy the evacuated territory for a period of thirty days from the date of completion of the evacuation of the Greek forces in order to guarantee the safety of the non-Turkish population." This new offer, however, was conditioned only on the fulfillment by the Turks of the remaining terms laid down in the allied note of Sept. 23, notably the evacuation of the neutral zone. Thirteen conditions were laid down, which may be summarized thus:

The Greeks were to evacuate within fifteen days, their places to be taken by allied troops

[American Cartoon]



—Sioux City Tribune

"ONWARD, CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS!"



Ismet Pasha (on the left), the Turkish leader who took a historic part in the armistice conference at Mudania, standing by the side of his chief, Mustapha Kemal Pasha. This remarkably lifelike picture is from a sketch made by one of Germany's foremost artists behind the battle lines

(Wide World Photos)

progressively. The Greek civil authorities, including the Gendarmerie, were to be withdrawn as soon as possible, their powers to be handed over to the allied authorities, who would transfer them to the Turkish authorities on the same day; the transfer was to be complete within thirty days after the Greek evacuation. The Turkish civil authorities were to be accompanied by a force of 8,000 Turkish gendarmerie—the strength deemed strictly necessary to maintain order. Interallied missions located in the principal centres were to supervise the evacuation and transfer of authority; in addition, allied contingents amounting to seven battalions were to insure public order and support the missions. These missions and contingents were to be withdrawn in thirty days following the Greek evacuation, and earlier if the allied Governments were convinced that the non-Turkish population would be adequately protected. The Angora Government was to withdraw all Turkish troops from the zone of allied occupation, and new neutral zones in the Chanak and Ismid areas were to be defined by mixed commissions. The zone of allied occupation was carried about thirty

miles west of the Tchatalja line, and the allied Gallipoli zone was to include all territory south of the Bakla and Bulair line. The Allies would bring in no new forces, and would not construct fortifications on the Straits. The Turks agreed to respect the neutral zones until the allied withdrawal. The Angora Government bound itself not to transport troops into Eastern Thrace nor to raise and maintain an army there until the final ratification of peace.

Ismet Pasha received these new terms on Oct. 9, and a lengthy discussion took place, the course of which was closely followed by Mustapha Kemal by telephone from Constantinople. It was said that his hard and sober judgment restrained the impetuous Ismet from precipitating any new crisis, and finally the Turkish Generalissimo announced that the final decision would be left with the Angora Parliament. The Mudania conferences, meanwhile, were suspended. Though both M. Veni-



zelos, sadly but resignedly, and the Greek revolutionary Government inclined to bow to the allied decision to evacuate Thrace, the Greek Army in Thrace, filled with new vigor and stirred by intense national feeling, prepared openly for a new war, and the Greek General there, in command of 100,000 troops, reiterated the determination of the army to keep the Turks out. The British also, though hoping for a peaceful solution, continued to fortify Chanak, until it was transformed into a small Gibraltar; new warships were sent, bridges and roads were blown up, wire defenses strengthened, and all preparation made for the issue of war, if war must come. All Turkish military movements pointed at encirclement.

Influenced, it was believed, by the changed attitude of the French, who had shifted from strong support of the Turks to a policy of united action with Great Britain, and by General Harington's stern warning that the demands formulated were England's last word, and that the English, in case war came, would prove a dangerous adversary, the Turks finally yielded to the conditions laid down, and on Oct. 10, at 11 o'clock in the evening, the armistice convention was signed at Mudania by all the powers concerned. So ended the first steps toward the conclusion of a permanent peace between the Allies and New Turkey, with dangers still in sight, but with good hopes of a successful solution of one of the most delicate and menacing problems which the Allies have had to face since the termination of the World War.

Twenty-eight Greek Christian Deputies in the Greek National Assembly on Oct. 7 cabled President Harding seeking protection for the Greek minorities in Thrace, in case the Turks were allowed to occupy this territory, plainly intimating that the Turks would begin a general massacre as soon as they got control. The situation at Smyrna was so serious that the American Red Cross on Oct. 9 placed all the funds in its treasury, amounting to some \$20,000,000, in the hands of the Chairman, for distribution to the starving and afflicted refugees in the Near East.

The Greek evacuation of Eastern Thrace began at Adrianople on Oct. 15. Allied



(© P. & A. Photos)

Headquarters flag of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, leader of victorious Turkish Nationalists

contingents entered the territory to supervise the withdrawal under the auspices of the allied missions installed at important centres. The Greek military authorities had planned the evacuation in three stages: First, in the Adrianople district; second, around Rodosto, and third, at the Maritza River. Five days had been allowed for each evacuation. The Greek Government had adopted measures for the maintenance of order, including reprisals in case the Turks began any massacre of the refugee Greek population. The evacuation of the army was impeded by an ever-flowing river of humanity blocking the roads; and it was evident that an extension of time would be necessary.

# THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: THIRD ASSEMBLY



By DENYS MYERS

Corresponding Secretary, World Peace  
Foundation; Representative of the  
League in the United States

THE Third Assembly of the League of Nations ended its sessions on Sept. 30, 1922, while the Turkish war scare was at its height. It began on Sept. 4, and during most of its sittings was completely overshadowed by the colorful flareup in the eastern sky. Both by this accompaniment of smoke from the last expiring embers of the World War and by the existence of an ordinary agenda—containing no subjects of popular interest—the Third Assembly must be viewed as a new phase in the life of the League of Nations.

At two previous Assemblies nations met in council under novel circumstances. In 1920 the mere convening of the Assembly as the first great international meeting under a written constitution was a historic event of the first magnitude. At the 1921 Assembly the Permanent Court of International Justice was set up, with the United States and a few others out of the arrangement by their own choice, registering a milestone in the development of international justice. But the most compelling problem at Geneva in 1922 was that of armament, which it was well known would not be settled, but only advanced, by the Assembly.

The 1922 Assembly may be said to have been the first typical session of a peace institution, showing its value and limitations better than the previous sessions. There is in the world a contradictory attitude toward peace which is seldom discussed, namely, that it is assumed that a peace institution must always have a war to operate on, or else it is of no value. The irony of it is that, if the institution takes the making of a war like the Aaland Islands or Albanian boundary disputes, irons it all out so that everybody is satis-

fied, there is then no war, and it is popular to say that nothing was done; wherefore the institution is no good. But if again some nations fail to see eye to eye and they are supposed to be rivals, then there is a dereliction of peace duty if the institution does not intervene immediately after the first exchange of notes, even though the parties themselves will settle the affair by ordinary diplomatic methods in three epistolary exchanges.

There were two good and sufficient reasons why the League of Nations Assembly did not intervene in the Turkish question. The first was that all the events were part of the World War and the action of the parties was under the armistice of Oct. 30, 1918, with Turkey; in other words, a continuation of a series of circumstances antedating the birth of the League. The treaty of peace with Turkey is still to be made, the Treaty of Sévres not having been ratified by any party to it. The second reason for non-intervention was that, during the Assembly, no cause for doing so arose. The jurisdiction of the League does not run until a dispute "cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy"; and though the diplomatic phase of the matter was hectic, it was not beyond control.

Still, the flareup did not escape the League's attention. The circumstance gives the measure of the increasing peace pressure afforded by the existence of the League. In 1920 the question of the state of war in Turkey got into the Assembly discussion, and the allied belligerents from various points of view made a mass attack against the proposition of touching it or even the Armenian situation incidental to it. In 1921 they were essentially of the same mood, though they expressed themselves in a minor key.

On Sept. 16 Nansen of Norway suggested that the Council consider methods to bring about the immediate cessation of hostilities between the Turks and Greeks. The Committee on New Motions put it on the agenda, and it went to the Sixth Committee. There the discussion was all in one tone. The matter interested the League, which must guard against the habit of the Paris and Genoa conferences of making imperfect settlements and leaving the League the remaining problems. The negotiations for a settlement between Turkey and the European powers were progressing favorably and should not be disturbed until they failed; but meanwhile the Council should be vigilant "and hold itself ready to assist." This was stated on behalf of Great Britain, France and Italy. A resolution was then drafted and is now on the records of the Assembly to that effect.

The atrocity phase of the Near East situation was brought up by the Persian delegation, to which the Kemalist Government had appealed for "an impartial judgment from the League on the atrocities committed during the present war." The Committee on New Motions referred the Persian proposal of "a neutral commission of inquiry to throw light on these occurrences and to avoid reprisals" to the Sixth Committee. The Greek delegation protested the proposal on the ground that it "is a case of irregular procedure." The protest followed the proposal to the Sixth Committee by vote of the Assembly. In committee it was announced by President Motta of the International Red Cross that it was arranging such an inquiry. The propriety of the Red Cross doing the task seemed so obvious to the Persian delegation that it withdrew its proposal, in confidence that the facts would be thus elicited.

The humanitarian question of refugees was placed on the agenda on Sept. 16 by the Assembly, and was acted upon three days later by the passage of the following resolution, which admirably illustrates both the usefulness and the limitations of the League:

Having heard Dr. Nansen's statement regarding the critical situation of more than 200,000 refugees from Asia Minor, and his offer of the

services of his Russian Refugees Organization for the administration of any funds contributed for the benefit of the refugees;

And considering that this is a work which demands immediate action by the League;

Recommends that the High Commissioner of the League be authorized to utilize the services of the Russian Refugees Organization to assist in the relief of refugees from Asia Minor and in the administration of money collected for this purpose, it being understood that the League takes no responsibility for these refugees, that the work for Russian refugees shall continue without hindrance, and that this additional activity be considered as of a temporary nature;

And, recognizing the urgency of providing an adequate administrative organization for these refugees,

Invites the Council to consider whether it cannot place at the disposal of Dr. Nansen, from the item of unforeseen expenditure, a sum sufficient to enable the necessary administrative measures to be taken for a period which will allow for adequate arrangements to be made from other sources.

The Assembly of 1922 had an ordinary agenda. Aside from the fundamental problem of the reduction of armament, the items consisted of matters of international co-operation and what may be called the technical parliamentary business of the League. The personnel of the Third Assembly was made up of veterans to the extent of half its numbers—men and women who began service in 1920. The women increase in number from year to year, Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Rumania having feminine representatives in 1922.

For the first time a non-European was President of the Assembly, Agustin Edwards of Chile having been elected by 42 votes to 2. He presided over a gathering representing forty-six States. For the first time the Vice Presidents were elected on the first ballot, the six chosen being Lord Balfour (British), M. Hanotaux (France), M. Teixeira Gomes (Portugal), Hjalmar Branting (Sweden), Count de Gimeno (Spain) and M. Nintchitch (Serb-Croat-Slovene State). These six formed the steering committee, together with the Chairmen of the six committees, who were: M. Scialoja (Italy), M. Chodzko (Poland), Cosme de la Torriente y Peraza (Cuba), Herluf Zahle (Denmark), William S. Fielding (Canada) and H. Loudon (Netherlands). Special provision outside of the steering committee was made for the placing of new questions on the

agenda. A special committee for this purpose was appointed.

After the elections several plenary sessions were devoted to discussing the reports on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat. This annual feature of the League Assembly constitutes a unique airing of international affairs, which becomes franker from year to year. In the First Assembly there was a distinct tendency on the part of powers who were actually or impliedly criticised to reply resentfully, and there was a constitutional discussion of the right of criticism as a result. The right of free speech won, and in the Third Assembly it was noticeable that any remark adverse to the action of any State brought not defense but apologetic explanation. In not a few cases what used to be international incidents were resolved by a word.

The Assembly has always been called the debating society of the League by both its adherents and opponents. Accepting the definition, it is interesting to follow through an instance of its performance of that function. Some time previous to the meeting newspaper dispatches had related that in the Southwest African mandate (former German Southwest Africa) a punitive expedition to impose the collection of certain taxes had killed a number of natives by air bombing. It was an incident of the type exceedingly common a dozen years ago, and was strangely reminiscent of German action in the same territory which, widely emphasized during the war, built up the case for divesting Germany of all overseas colonies. In the past, military authorities whitewashed such incidents, a little group of very moral nationals protested, and all the world besides was either shocked or kept silent, hoping that their own similar actions would not have notoriety.

What happened in this instance was very significant of the mollifying and reforming pressure of the Assembly. On the second day of the meeting, Sir Edgar Walton for South Africa presented a report of the administrator of Southwest Africa. He requested a suspension of judgment with the remark that "I thought I would anticipate any possible inquiry by taking this step now." Three days

later M. Bellegarde of Haiti spoke on the subject, and the applause was loud and prolonged when he declared that a massacre of women and children under the protection of the League "is an abominable outrage which we cannot suffer." He submitted a resolution expressing satisfaction with the South African determination fully to investigate, the confident hope that the League's Permanent Mandate Commission would be able to report the re-establishment of satisfactory conditions, and that South Africa would relieve the suffering.

The Committee on New Questions reported the proposal back favorably, and it was referred to the Sixth Committee (Political Questions); and the Assembly eventually passed the resolution desired by Haiti.

While the Assembly was thus discussing affairs in general, the six committees were organizing and beginning the discussion of the agenda in public sessions. The committees dealt with the following general subjects: I., Constitutional and Legal Questions; II., Technical Organizations; III., Reduction of Armaments; IV., Budget and Financial Questions; V., Social and General Questions; VI., Political Questions. Roughly speaking, the first half of the Assembly was taken up with committee work and the second half with the passing of committee reports in plenary sessions.

#### THE ARMAMENT PROBLEM

For two years the League has had two boards constantly at work on the armament problem. The Permanent Military, Naval and Air Commission is prescribed by the Covenant and is technical in make-up and the character of its work. The Temporary Mixed Commission on Armament has been functioning under the Council since the request for its organization by the 1920 Assembly. It aims to represent all interests affected by armament, containing military experts, Government, labor, social and economic representatives; in a word, to give a cross-section of world opinion. The permanent commission had ready for the Assembly the most complete set of authentic data on the subject ever collected. The temporary commission had three important proposals to present, be-



sides recommendations on the arms traffic, the private manufacture of weapons of warfare, and other subjects.

The Third Committee of the Assembly was intrusted with the study of the subject, and its deliberations resulted finally in the passage of two resolutions providing for a world-wide generalization of the Washington conference and for a system of regional guarantees. The Assembly would have justified its existence if it had done nothing else. The refreshingly frank discussions on the subject cleared a good deal more than the air; they resulted in declarations from France, for instance, from which definite changes of national policy may be confidently predicted. The committee met publicly under the Chairmanship of a Cuban and the Vice Chairmanship of a Finn, and throughout was largely a friendly argument between the representatives of South Africa and France.

At the first session, on Sept. 8, the committee heard a report from the Temporary Mixed Commission by Lord Robert Cecil; whose proposal for a treaty of mutual guarantee had been recommended by that commission, which sent it to the committee in the following form:

1. No scheme for the reduction of armaments can ever be really successful unless it is general.

2. In the present state of the world, the majority of Governments would be unable to accept the responsibility for a serious reduction of armaments unless they received in exchange a satisfactory guarantee of the safety of their countries.

3. Such a guarantee can be found in a general defensive agreement between all the countries concerned, binding them to provide immediate and effective assistance in accordance with a pre-arranged plan in the event of one of them being attacked, provided that the obligation to render assistance to a country attacked shall be limited in principle to those countries situated in the same part of the globe. In cases, however, where, for historical, geographical or other reasons, a country is in special danger of attack, detailed arrangements should be made for its defense in accordance with the above-mentioned plan.

4. It is understood that the whole of the above resolutions are conditioned on a reduction of armaments being carried out on lines laid down beforehand, and on the provision of effective machinery to insure the realization and the maintenance of such reduction.

M. de Jouvenel of France took the lead in supporting the proposal and, asserting that enough had not been done and that it

was the duty of the great powers to return to the scale of 1913, moved a definite method of reduction:

The committee recommends that as a preliminary step the European States existing before the war under their present description, whose legal position has not been modified by the war and which are not at this moment engaged in military operations justifying their armaments, be invited to reduce their total military, naval and air expenditure to the figures for 1913, calculated on the basis of pre-war prices according to the method followed by the Temporary Mixed Commission.

It will be recalled that at Washington France vetoed any consideration of land armament at all. At Geneva, nine months later, she was apparently anxious to take the initiative in forwarding the discussion and hastening the world to a conclusion on the matter. She boycotted the subject at Washington; at Geneva she was the chief co-operator. And it was no mean proposition that M. de Jouvenel submitted to complete the South African proposal of Lord Robert Cecil:

The Assembly—

Considering that moral disarmament is an essential condition of material disarmament, and that this moral disarmament can only be achieved in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and security;

Declares that such confidence cannot be attained so long as the world continues to suffer from disorganization of the exchanges, economic chaos and unemployment, and that the only method of remedying these evils is to put an end to the uncertainty which prevails regarding the means for the restoration of the devastated regions and the settlement of the interallied debts;

Expresses the hope that, in so far as these questions can be regulated by the unaided effort of the European nations, the Governments signatory of the international treaties and agreements which deal with these questions within the framework of which they must be considered, will achieve as soon as possible a general settlement of the problems of reparation and interallied debts;

And it further recommends that the Council shall devote constant attention to every effort made in this direction by the Governments concerned, it being understood that it can only usefully assist in the solution of these problems if requested to do so by the Governments in question.

The full significance of this proposal is not that it recognizes a connection between reparation and debts and armament for the first time in official quarters, though that is important. But two years before, in the First Assembly, some one inadvertently

mentioned reparation in a speech and set off Viviani on one of his most eloquent flights to the effect that the Versailles Treaty positively must not be touched by the League. He spoke officially, on instructions from Paris. Two years later, in the same forum, his successor, speaking likewise for his Government, reversed the opinion and invited the League, representing the bulk of the civilized world, to sit in if the Governments concerned so requested. As the French Government had previously discouraged any such offer, the proposal which it made constituted a change of policy of far-reaching importance for stabilizing conditions through the machinery of the League.

The response in committee to the French move was very hearty, and on the same day, Sept. 21, this Third Committee unanimously adopted it, the Chairman remarking that the decision was a great occasion in the history of the League.

At the plenary session of Sept. 26 both the Cecil and Jouvenel proposals, preceded by an introduction, were passed by the Assembly itself.

#### NAVAL DISCUSSION

In the commissions Admiral Segrave of Great Britain had advanced a proposal to apply the principles of the Washington naval treaty to the navies of all States. When this came before the Third Committee, only two States had any objections—Poland and Brazil. A Polish Admiral said that the basic principle should be Article 8 of the Covenant, not the principle of the status quo of the Washington treaty, which in her case was not compatible with security, as she "might need to protect her northern frontiers with naval forces." The Brazilian objection was that "with her long coast line and extensive sea communications, she could not be reduced to two capital ships. At the present moment Brazil was practically disarmed. Her intentions had always been peaceful and her Constitution expressly forbade a war of conquest."

Other delegates tried to mollify these two objectors, and in the end the following resolution went through the Assembly:

1. The Assembly recommends that the principles of the Washington naval treaty should be

extended to all States non-signatory of that treaty, whether members of the League or not.

2. It recommends that an international conference should be summoned by the Council as soon as possible, to which all States, whether members of the League or not, should be invited, with a view to considering the extension of the principles of the Washington convention to all States non-signatory of that treaty, it being understood that any special cases, including that of new States, shall be given consideration at the conference.

3. It recommends that the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission, together with the report and the draft convention prepared by the Permanent Advisory Commission, should be forwarded immediately to the various Governments for consideration.

#### HUNGARY ADMITTED

Another war scar was wiped out by the Third Assembly. In 1920 Austria and Bulgaria were admitted, their neighbors and former enemies showing a fine spirit of good-will respecting them. Germany has been kept from applying by the certainty of a French blackball, and Turkey is still in the World War. Of the former belligerents there remained in 1922 only one, Hungary, whose spirit and action had in many respects impressed the Western Europeans as the worst possible. Hungary insisted on having a King; she openly had refused to reduce her army to treaty strength; she had declined to pay reparation. Her schools taught the "resurrection of Hungary," despite the Treaty of Trianon. She had inspired the Little Entente into existence. Yet the statesmen of Europe recognized that a good deal of this was due to her position as a defeated power, which the victors tended to interpret as making of her an outcast. Hungary applied for admission to the League of Nations.

It was clearly a test of good faith all around. In years gone by the Hungarian position of recent years would have driven her surlily into a final war of revenge on her neighbors, who have quartered her former realm among themselves and who certainly now have no legitimate irredentist territory under her flag. Would Hungary pass muster; and, if so, would her neighbors blackball her? The Sixth Committee of the Assembly was the forum of the discussion, which was extensive and very detailed. The Hungarian delegate,

received there on a footing of equality for the first time in international society since the war, made an excellent impression, in which his frankness was only equaled by his obvious sincerity. A subcommittee in which the Little Entente was represented made minute inquiries, and ended by reporting Hungary up.

Baron Bánffy had declared in the name of Hungary that his country "sincerely intended to fulfill her obligations toward the League of Nations, the provisions of the treaties and all her international obligations." The subcommittee drew his attention to the inexecution of clauses respecting the reduction of armament and the protection of minorities, and then unanimously recommended admission. When the report came before the committee, the Danish Chairman supplemented it by a letter containing the assurance that the Hungarian National Assembly would ratify the obligations taken by Baron Bánffy. Then the Czechoslovak delegate rose to say that the Reparation Commission requested that Hungary should not be admitted before engaging to carry out the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Trianon. Italy and France both felt that the engagements given were sufficient to cover that point, which remark was probably quite as much intended to prevent any consideration of reparation by the League as to favor Hungary. In the Assembly, after the report was read, a spokesman for the Little Entente stated that those States recommended the admission of their former enemy, and on Sept. 18 Hungary was unanimously admitted to the League.

#### CONCILIATION COMMISSIONS

Most Americans will recall the treaties for the advancement of peace of which twenty-five are now in force between the United States and other countries. They provide that all questions without exception, not settled by diplomacy or arbitration, shall be investigated and reported upon, the parties agreeing not to declare war or begin hostilities until the report is in, which may be a year after the dispute was acute. It is one of the most salutary principles existent in international relations, and was adopted as an integral part of the peace machinery of the Covenant.

That document provided for the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the court has now been set up under a special statute. Before the Covenant was in effect the Scandinavian States took the stand that the principle of the conciliation treaties was entitled to the same development by statute as was contemplated for the court.

A scheme was fully elaborated by Norway, Sweden and Denmark and submitted at the First Assembly as an amendment to the Covenant. The question has since been under consideration by the Assembly, the Council and a special commission appointed by the Council. At the Third Assembly the First Committee reported on the subject and the Assembly on Sept. 22 adopted a resolution, whose importance justifies its quotation in full:

With a view to promoting the development of the procedure of conciliation in the case of international disputes in accordance with the spirit of the Covenant, the Assembly recommends the members of the League, subject to the rights and obligations mentioned in Article 15 of the Covenant, to conclude agreements with the object of laying their disputes before conciliation commissions formed by themselves.

The organization of these commissions, their competence and the procedure to be followed before them, shall be freely determined by the contracting parties. The parties are recommended in this connection to look for guidance to the provisions contained in The Hague Convention of Oct. 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes, and in particular to the provisions concerning the hearing of witnesses, procedure by employment of experts, rogatory commissions, inspection of places, and replacement of members in the commission. The rules laid down in the following articles are recommended to them for adoption. At the request of the members concerned, the Secretary General may offer them the assistance of the Secretariat for the conclusion of conciliation conventions.

Apart from the other means placed at its disposal by the Covenant to assure the maintenance of peace, the Council may, if necessary, have recourse to the service of the Conciliation Commission formed by the parties; it may invite them to bring their dispute before the commission or it may refer to the commission any dispute which may have been submitted to it by one of the parties in virtue of Article 15 of the Covenant. A conciliation convention made between two States, of which only one is a member of the League of Nations, will be applicable subject to the procedure established by Article 17 of the Covenant.

The Assembly expresses the hope that the competence of conciliation commissions will extend to the greatest possible number of disputes, and that the practical application of particular conventions between States, as recommended in the present resolution, will, in the near future, make possible the establishment of a general convention open to the adhesion of all States.

#### RULES

Article 1. The Conciliation Commission shall be constituted as follows:

Each party shall appoint two members, one from among its own nationals, the other from among the nationals of a third State. The two



parties shall jointly appoint the Chairman of the commission from among the nationals of a third State.

The parties may appoint the members of the commission beforehand and for a period which they themselves shall determine. They may also confine themselves to appointing only the Chairman beforehand, in which case the other members shall be appointed after a consultation with the Chairman at the moment when a dispute arises, their mandate being limited to the settlement of such dispute.

Art. 2. Disputes which fall within the competence of the Conciliation Commission shall be referred to it for consideration by means of a notification made by one of the contracting parties to the Chairman of the commission and to the other party. The notification shall be communicated to the Secretary General of the League.

If all the members of the commission have been appointed beforehand, the Chairman shall convene the commission as soon as possible. If they have not been so appointed the Chairman shall invite the parties to appoint the other members within a period laid down by the convention.

Art. 3. The Conciliation Commission shall meet at the seat of the League, unless the parties have fixed a different place of meeting in the convention made by them or for the purposes of a particular case. The commission, if it considers it necessary, may meet at a different place. The commission may in all circumstances ask the Secretary General to render it assistance in its work.

Art. 4. Subject to the right of the parties and of the commission itself to extend this period, the Conciliation Commission shall complete its work within a period of six months from the day it first met.

Art. 5. Both parties shall be heard by the commission.

The parties shall furnish the commission with all the information which may be useful for the inquiry and the drawing up of the report, and shall in every respect assist it in the accomplishment of its task.

The commission shall itself regulate all details of procedure not provided for in the convention and establish rules of procedure for the obtaining of evidence.

Art. 6. The commission shall take its decision by a majority vote of its members; the presence of all the members is required for a valid decision. Each member shall have one vote.

Art. 7. The commission shall make a report on each dispute submitted to it. In proper cases the report shall include a proposal for the settlement of the dispute. The reasoned opinion of the members who are in the minority shall be recorded in the report.

The Chairman of the commission shall immediately bring the report to the knowledge of the parties and of the Secretary General of the League.

Art. 8. The report of the Conciliation Commission may be published by one of the parties before the settlement of the dispute only if the other party gives its consent.

The commission may, by unanimous vote, decree the immediate publication of its report.

Art. 9. Each party shall pay the allowances of the members of the commission which it has appointed and shall pay half of the allowances of the Chairman.

Each party shall bear the costs of procedure which it has incurred and half of those which the commission may declare to be joint costs.

The Covenant in Article 12 provides that the members of the League "agree in no case to resort to war until three months after" the report, so that it is henceforth assured that members of the League will have to take nine months to incubate a

war among themselves. War at will is left as a special perquisite of non-members.

## AMENDMENTS

Amendments to the Covenant occupied considerable attention. The two principal ones were the striking out of Article 10, which is so well known, and of giving a full juridical interpretation to Article 18, which is the one providing for the registration of treaties. Action on both was postponed.

A virtual amendment of far-reaching importance was, however, put through. One of the most used objections to the League has been that the Council, which handles most of the business, consisted of the great powers and only a minority of the smaller States. The conclusion reached was that it was built to carry out the will of the great powers. By Article 4 of the Covenant the Council may increase the number of smaller States with the consent of the Assembly. It used to be held that this would never be done.

However, the Council, which was in session throughout the Assembly, voted to do that, and requested the Assembly to approve its decision to increase the non-permanent representatives on the Council from four to six, the decision to be effective immediately. As the present permanent Council membership of the great powers is four, the decision gave the small States a regular majority of 20 per cent. Two reasons were assigned for the Council's decision to increase its membership. "Since the entrance of the Covenant into force the number of member States has been increased by the admission of nine new States. It therefore has become very difficult to insure the division of the seats equitably among the various countries which, on account of common interests, have a tendency to constitute groups." The second reason was that the member States "seem more than ever disposed to refer to the League important problems," for which committee and other work must be done in increasing measure.

At the First Assembly it was estimated that it would take twelve years to give each member State a turn at representation on the Council. But it was then decided that



the important thing was representation of ideas rather than States, and the Assembly has since been content with foregoing the claim on behalf of its members to rotation. This was again emphasized in the election under the new rule. Of the six new States now on the Council, Brazil, Spain and Belgium have served continuously, while China begins a third year. The two new States are Sweden and Uruguay. All six were elected on the first ballot.

A most important and far-reaching group of questions studied and provided for must be dismissed with a word. The Health Organization has a technical task of multifarious phases, all of which were the subject of detailed resolutions making provision for their continuance. A conference to revise the sanitary convention of 1912 will shortly be held, medical sera are being standardized, epidemics studied, combated and their statistical records coordinated. These and other activities were provided with necessary funds.

The traffic in opiates, on which a League commission is constantly at work, was the topic of a series of resolutions urging the necessity of import and export certificates, calling for specific statistics, some of which have never existed, recommending a census of legitimate usage, and, finally:

The Assembly, convinced of the urgent necessity of securing the fullest possible co-operation in the work of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other dangerous drugs, and considering the fact that the United States of America is one of the most important manufacturing and importing countries, recommends to the Council of the League that it should address a pressing invitation to the Government of the United States to nominate a member to serve on the committee.

The mandate system is now fully in force and the Assembly's action consisted

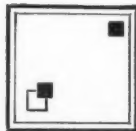
of a close examination of all reports of the mandataries and of the work of the Permanent Mandate Commission. A resolution of general interest defined the right of petition, prescribing that appeals from inhabitants must be sent to the commission, and that complaints from outside sources will be considered only after the mandatory has had opportunity to express its views.

A cognate question, perhaps of more importance for peace, is the protection of minorities, which is intrusted to the League by a series of peace and other treaties. Racial, religious or linguistic minorities are a thorny problem, and have given the Council no end of trouble. The Assembly affirmed that "it is necessary that the Council should retain its full power of direct action" in protecting them, but that this power should be used only as a last resort. It recommended reference of questions of law or fact to the Permanent Court. It cautioned minorities of their duty "to co-operate as loyal fellow-citizens of the nations to which they now belong." It asked nations not bound by treaties to accord minorities "at least as high a standard of justice and toleration" as is required under the League system.

Forty other decisions were taken on various aspects of international affairs. This fact, coupled with the additional one that the Assembly is only a conference of the League, gives some idea of the extent of the work falling to it. The Assembly put the League in funds for 1923. The budget of about \$4,000,000 was finally prorated among member States satisfactorily. By the decision Great Britain, the heaviest paying member, maintains its dues for one-tenth of 1 per cent. of its current armament upkeep.



# THE RAILWAY STRIKE: STRIKERS' VIEWPOINT



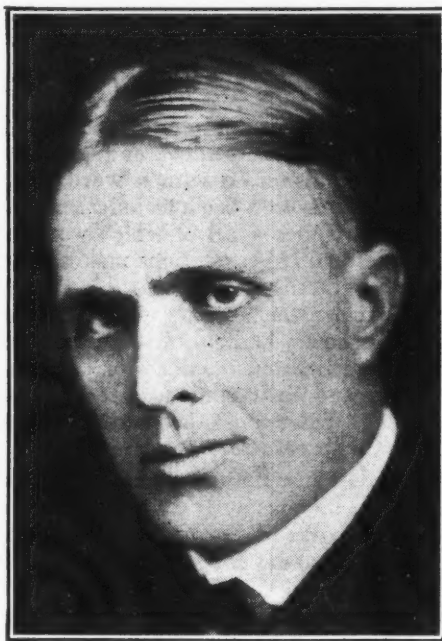
By B. M. JEWELL

President of the Railway Employees Department, Affiliated Organizations, being the International Associations of Railway Machinists, Blacksmiths, Metal Workers, Electrical Workers, Carmen, Switchmen, Railway Clerks, Stationary Firemen, Maintenance of Way and Roundhouse Laborers

*The President of the striking organizations definitely charges that there is a conspiracy to destroy the unions—Facts and figures regarding inadequate wages—Causes of strike*

IT is not, I think, generally known that the aim of the Railway Employees Department, as stated in Article 1 of the Constitution, is "to prevent strikes and lockouts wherever possible"; nor is it generally recognized that the officers of the department have carried this out in the face of great pressure from the membership since the adverse decisions of the Railway Labor Board and the full development of the hostile railroad policy in 1921. Only when the railroads had pushed the organizations until their backs were to the wall did the officers of the department sanction a strike which had been voted by 97 per cent. of the membership.

The primary issue in the controversy, which developed to a point where strike action became inevitable, was the question of bona-fide collective bargaining. In the business of settling the strike this issue still predominates. Honest acceptance of this principle of collective bargaining affords the only basis for justice and industrial peace in the transportation industry. This was recognized in the terms of the Transportation act. Unfortunately, the Railroad Labor Board proved itself either unwilling or impotent to protect this principle, and the railroads took advantage of eighteen months' unemployment in the country to disregard it.



(© Harris & Ewing)

BERT M. JEWELL

A brief account of this period, in which both the organizations and the principles for which they stand were viciously attacked, is necessary to a thorough understanding of the strike.

## RETROGRESSION ADVOCATED

Prior to the war the principle of collective bargaining and agreement was rapidly gaining recognition among the significant railroads of the country. By the end of 1917 the roads which still maintained the arbitrary, autocratic attitude were in a distinct minority.

The collective agreements negotiated prior to Government control all contained recognition of certain principles which

unions really came into existence to secure. These included: (1) The right of employees to representation by the individuals or organizations chosen by them, (2) a working week of six standard working days, (3) the payment for work required in time normally dedicated to a man's family and recreation at a higher rate, (4) the protection of craft standards, (5) the protection of health. A glance at these will convince any unbiased person that they are reasonable and desirable conditions.

The so-called national agreement meant nothing more than the extension of these principles to all the lines integrated for war purposes under a single employer, the people of the United States represented by the Railroad Administration. Good judgment would have sanctioned no other course.

The controversy which resulted in the present strike appeared just as soon as the question of the return of the roads to private control was considered. The old autocratic roads sought ways and means of securing a return of the pre-war situation in which they neither recognized the employees' organizations nor accepted the principles which I have just enumerated. In seeking to accomplish this act of retrogression they were faced with the fact that the war had changed the point of view of their own men, and that a return to their old autocratic power involved a weakening of the entire organized labor movement, an attack on the very idea of trade unionism.

Consequently, in pursuit of their own selfish interest and without a thought as to the broad welfare of the country, they launched their attack. They had already attempted to secure the incorporation in the Transportation act of a strike prohibition which would have meant compulsory arbitration. But the forward movement of democratic ideas, stimulated by wartime propaganda, had not yet completely subsided, and the sentiment of the country prevented such legislation. A compromise resulted which aimed to safeguard the integrity of collective bargaining with recognition of the established unions in the industry.

Such a compromise could function properly as a substitute for strikes only to

the extent that employers acted in good faith and accepted collective bargaining with the established unions as a part of the new era. The employees felt that such acceptance of the act was highly improbable and that the railroads with the power to disregard the principles laid down would find the other features a weapon ready to their hand for undermining the strength of the organizations. For this reason they have always worked with the machinery of the act under protest.

#### ASSOCIATION OF EXECUTIVES

The Association of Railroad Executives was used by the aggressive executives of the autocratic group to further their program. Through it they were able to whip into line a majority of the railroads which would normally have preferred to work out a satisfactory settlement with the organizations chosen by their employees and thus to give a false sense of unanimity to the campaign which they were conducting.

Two principles in the act called clearly for real collective bargaining with the unions. The first provided that every effort be made to settle a dispute in conference between management and such representatives as the employees should designate—prior to submission of a dispute to the board. The second provided that disputes involving working conditions should be considered by bi-partisan adjustment boards created by agreement between carriers and organized employees. These two provisions represented recognition of collective bargaining as opposed to compulsory arbitration. It was consequently the determination of the arbitrary roads to evade these provisions of the act.

#### NATIONAL ADJUSTMENT BOARDS

The development of the campaign against adjustment boards, in so far as they involved recognition of the national unions, shows clearly the way in which the arbitrary interests brought other railroads in line through the agency of the Association of Railroad Executives. The question was taken up immediately after the resumption of private control by the Labor Committee of the association, with the result that it recommended in a majority report the establishment of national

adjustment boards. The majority contended that unless such boards were created the Labor Board would break down under the "herculean task" imposed upon it. This decision was made after long discussion and represented the considered judgment of practical railroad executives.

Vice President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania, however, submitted a minority report voicing this viewpoint: "It is clear to us that national boards of adjustment mean national agreements. \* \* \* Our duty is clear. Make no contract whatever with the labor organizations."

Thus early in the game the irreconcilable minority expressed the attitude which was rapidly put over on the other executives until the unions were faced with a definite movement to break their strength. When these two reports came up for consideration by the entire association, Atterbury's report was adopted by a vote in which the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads held a balance of power. Mr. Cuyler admitted before the Labor Board that if the New York Central alone had changed its vote the association would have been on record in favor of national adjustment boards. Between them these two roads controlled eighteen votes.

The succeeding Summer months of 1920 saw the Labor Committee twice reaffirm its stand in favor of negotiating for adjustment boards with the organizations, and each time the increasing weight of financial control placed behind Atterbury caused the association to follow his reactionary lead.

Thus a provision which the board described as "an essential part of the machinery to decide disputes between carriers and their employes" was deliberately sabotaged. May that not in part explain the fact that existing disputes were not decided in such a manner as to avert the strike?

#### CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT NATIONAL AGREEMENT

Following the hamstringing of the provision for adjustment boards contained in the Transportation act there followed a sustained attack on the national agreement, already defined. In their fight for the abolition of this industrial code there

was no pretense at fair play under the Transportation act. After several weeks of bitter press propaganda delivered from before the Labor Board, Mr. Atterbury suddenly appeared and demanded the immediate abolition of the national agreement with a return to the conditions of 1917. This demand was made before the employes had presented their case—it frankly aimed to override judicial consideration of the case by the board. It was based on the false assertion that without such action the railroads would face bankruptcy. It was accompanied by a threat that, if the board did not grant the request, the railroads would so flood the board with cases as to overwhelm it.

The Labor Board, recognizing that such a step would be fatal to its prestige, refused to carry out the request. But a few months later, without awaiting the completion of the employes' case, it abolished the national agreement, remanding the question of rules back to individual lines for negotiation. The railroads, however, made good their threat. The Labor Board was flooded with cases to such an extent that action on important cases was clogged. Cases which should have been taken care of in negotiation or through adjustment boards, as provided in the Transportation act, were rushed through the dispute stage to the board's docket. The extent of this overcrowding can be seen when it is pointed out that in the first two years the Labor Board has been required to render decisions and interpretations in nearly 1,200 cases—excluding those closed by letter, and has in the same time accumulated nearly 1,500 undisposed-of cases.

As a result, major cases, for which the Labor Board should have prepared by fact gathering and mature study, were passed upon in haste. It was not to be expected that public members of the board would be competent to pass quick judgments on matters connected with the technical operation of railroads. This was especially the case in the matter of modification of rules, a fruitful source of the discontent which came to a head in the present strike. Had the public members had time to familiarize themselves with the railroad facts behind these rules it is inconceivable that certain changes would have been made.



Similarly, the board was coerced by press of work into serious error in interpreting the Transportation act in the matter of wages. Forced, on the one hand, into hasty judgment, and filled, on the other, with the propaganda concerning the financial straits of the carriers, the board reduced wages to such an extent that men could not continue employment without attempting serious protest.

Finally, the long delay in consideration of the contracting out of shops may be attributed to the same cause, overcrowded dockets. From this situation the men came to the view that they must look out for their own status and standards in the industry because the roads intended to be bound by the act only to the extent that it suited their interest.

A brief summary of these main issues will clarify the picture of the developing strike sentiment prior to June, 1922.

#### THE RULES ISSUE

In its final decision on the question of working rules the Labor Board modified a considerable number of the rules in the agreement which had been worked out through many months of labor on the part of a large body of men thoroughly familiar with the practice of railroad shops both from the point of view of management and of employees. Seven of these rules, in their modified form, were not acceptable to the employees affected. The rules modified regulated payment for work outside regular shop routine craft standards, and were aimed to render discrimination less likely.

As an example, consider the fact that the decision of the board deprived 100,000 employees of overtime pay for work performed on Sunday. Special compensation for work on this day was universally recognized as just even on unorganized railroads before the war. It is based on a very strong natural right. All religions have set apart one day in seven as a day of rest. It is essential to efficient work. It is essential to family life. It belongs to every man; and when this day which rightfully is his own is interrupted, he is entitled to something in addition to the payment which he receives for regular routine days, to damages payment, if you will. Custom has established the amount of this extra payment on the railroads to an additional half, thus establishing the well-known time-and-a-half rate.

Railroad shop em-

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

THE WASTE OF WAR

ployes felt unwilling to work except under protest after being deprived of such established and well-recognized conditions.

#### THE WAGES ISSUE

The wage rates established by the most recent decisions of the Labor Board were based on the bargain-counter price of labor in certain unprincipled industries during the sustained period of unemployment. It was a case of acceptance of the commodity theory of labor. Already the railroads themselves are being forced to offer better wages in order to secure the class of labor required. The wage structure resulting from these decisions will mean a depreciated and degraded standard of living to the employees in every classification affected.

For the track laborers and section men, numbering several hundred thousand, the Labor Board fixed average annual earnings at approximately \$800. Many thousands will earn less than \$600 a year as a result of these decisions. The board sanctioned such wages with the full knowledge that the lowest budget prepared by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics cannot be purchased for less than \$1,400, and that the National Industrial Conference Board sets a bare subsistence level at about \$1,200 with current prices. Thus the lowest standard set by an employers' association requires \$400 more per year than the United States Railroad Labor Board has established as the basic minimum wage in the railroad industry.

With the greatest possible economy in buying, this minimum will enable the father of a normal family to purchase for himself not more than 1,456 calories of food per day. A man at moderate work requires at least 3,600 calories. His three suits of Summer underwear must last three years, one suit of clothes must carry on for eight years and a Winter overcoat for ten years. If the board had attempted to order men specifically to live under such conditions, public sentiment would have justified a demand for its immediate abolishment. Yet under pressure of the nationwide drive against labor the board has done the equivalent of establishing this subnormal standard of living.

The management argues that people "do live" on such wages. We answer, the effect upon the next generation, the resultant underdevelopment and susceptibility to disease, as well as the consequent inefficiency of the worker, has been too well demonstrated to make such wages defensible. The Federal Children's Bureau has found that the infant death rate mounts rapidly to 255 per thousand where the father's income falls below the equivalent of \$900 in today's value, whereas it falls to 80 per thousand when the income is over \$2,000.

Frank A. Vanderlip, formerly President of the National City Bank, in his book, "What Happened in Europe," in commenting upon the fact that for years the cost of living in England has been outstripping wages, remarks as follows:

In order successfully to compete in neutral markets, British industry has made a red-ink overdraft on the future, an overdraft on the physique of her citizens, an overdraft that has consumed her house facilities; that overdraft must now be made good at the expense of the nation.

Government statistics show that for over twenty years the cost of living in this country has been outstripping railroad wages. The shop employees felt that the tendency had come to a point where it must be halted if similar degradation of human life in America was to be prevented.

When the basic minimum wage in an industry is unjust, all wages graded up by differentials for greater skill and training become likewise unjust. No single wage under the Labor Board's recent decisions will provide even three-fourths of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics minimum health and decency standard, which today requires approximately \$2,300. It is right that skilled mechanics, after serving a long apprenticeship, should expect at least this minimum standard. If they are deprived of this expectation, all incentive to pursue such training under the present system would be destroyed, and a shortage of mechanics would develop.

#### THE CONTRACTING-OUT ISSUE

Nowhere has the effort of the banker minority to degrade standards and disintegrate legitimate labor organizations been more evident than in the practice of contracting out work and otherwise avoiding

the conditions established through orderly processes under the act.

The lead has been taken by the Pennsylvania Railroad, which separated itself completely from the present railway régime through negotiating with a rump organization of its own creation which represents less than 10 per cent. of the number of employes voting for the regular organizations. Nineteen leading railroads, operating over 25 per cent. of the Class 1 mileage of the country, followed the lead of the Pennsylvania policy through contracting work and shops to outside contractors, who were believed to be outside the jurisdiction of the organization of railroad employes and of the Labor Board.

In all cases of the practice the purpose and result have been the same, namely, the reducing of wages, the evading of decisions of the board, the degrading of working conditions and the attacking of the employes' organizations.

The Labor Board has decided: "If the carrier can legally do the thing which has been done under these contracts, then the entire Transportation act can be nullified and the will of the Congress of the United States set at naught."

#### RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STRIKE

The combination of circumstances which I have briefly summarized made the issue between the shop employes more than a question of wages, more than a question of rules and shop practice, important as these questions surely are. Workers have established trade unions with a view to securing certain standards through collective bargaining. The fact that the industrial world has always opposed the natural desire for shorter hours, for craft standards and for better conditions led employes to develop organizations whereby their collective strength could be brought to bear toward securing these ends through withdrawal from work. Without the possibility of the strike in the background the arbi-

trary power of employers over their employes would have been practically unlimited.

The Transportation act aimed to make strikes unnecessary by establishing guarantees which would make collective bargaining effective for the protection of cardinal standards without recourse to strikes. According to President Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio the purpose of the act was not to forbid strikes, but to render them unnecessary. The railroads, in refusing to carry out in good faith the guarantees of the Transportation act, were, in fact, attempting to break down collective bargaining as an effective guarantee of the standards which had been secured by this means, and consequently were attacking the organizations. For organizations, if they could not function to protect these standards, would have little reason for existence. The railroads vetoed that part of the act which provided a substitute for the strike, and thus left the strike again as the only alternative. In this way they forced the Railway Employees Department, whose aim is to prevent strikes and lock-outs whenever possible, to sanction a strike voted by men who felt that they were fighting for the existence of their organizations. The burden of responsibility for substituting direct action for the collective bargaining established by the Transportation act rests squarely with the railroads and with the financial powers behind them.

Since July 1, the outlaw resolution of the Labor Board, the raising of the artificial seniority issue, the attempt to form company unions following the mandate of the board and, finally, the Daugherty injunction proceedings, all serve to confirm the belief that the shop employes have been and still are face to face with a conspiracy to destroy their organizations. The Railway Employees Department has unhesitatingly held to the policy that honest acceptance of the principle of collective bargaining must be the cardinal fact in final settlement of the strike.

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# THE ANTHRACITE STRIKE OF 1922

By EDWARD W. PARKER

Director of the Anthracite Bureau of Information

*Story of the struggle which caused the present shortage of hard coal, cost the companies \$30,000,000, and lost the miners \$100,000,000 in wages—Events and developments as seen from the viewpoint of the operators*

THE anthracite strike of 1922 was the first serious interruption to mining operations in the hard coal region in twenty years, or since that of 1902 (until now known as "the great strike"), which was settled by the intervention of President Roosevelt and the appointment of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, under whose award, with certain modifications mutually agreed upon by operators and miners, and through the beneficent influence of the Anthracite Board of Conciliation established by that commission, industrial peace has reigned.

It is true that in 1920, when the agreement of 1916 terminated, operators and miners were unable to reach an agreement between themselves, and upon the initiative of President Wilson the controversy was referred to an arbitration commission appointed by him. Throughout those negotiations, however, which extended from March 9 to Aug. 31, mining operations were continued under an arrangement entered into early in the negotiations that any wage rates finally agreed upon should be retroactive to April. It is also true that, dissatisfied with the findings of the commission, many of the mine workers entered upon what was generally termed a "vacation" strike, but this action was not unanimous, and after an idleness of about six weeks the disaffected workers returned



EDWARD W. PARKER

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to their employment. Production was not seriously curtailed and no real inconvenience was caused the anthracite-consuming public.

Markedly different conditions influenced the negotiations for the renewal of the agreement which terminated last March. In the first place, opening of the negotiations was delayed because the leaders of the United Mine Workers, occupied with controversies in the bituminous coal fields, were unable or unwilling to take



up the—to them—less important matter of the anthracite agreement until within two weeks of its termination. On Feb. 20, the President of the United Mine Workers of America addressed a letter to S. D. Warriner, Chairman of the General Policies Committee, requesting a conference in New York City on March 15, for the purpose of negotiating a new wage agreement. The expiring contract terminated on March 31. Although protesting that the time permitted for the negotiation of an agreement was too short, the operators accepted the proposal, confiding (unwisely, as later developments showed) in the good faith of the leaders of the United Mine Workers, and expecting, therefore, that precedents established in previous negotiations would be continued and that mining operations would not be interrupted.

At the joint conference on March 15, which was held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, the miners presented their demands, nineteen in number, to which, with one day of intermission for deliberation, the operators made reply at an adjourned meeting on March 17. The principal demand of the miners was for an advance of 20 per cent. in their wage rates, notwithstanding the fact that the existing rates were far in excess of those paid for labor requiring equal skill in other kinds of employment in the anthracite region and adjacent territory. Of the other eighteen demands, six were identical with those that had been presented before the President's commission in 1920 and rejected by it. Nearly every demand, if conceded, would have added to the cost of production, and careful estimates prepared by accountants for the operators showed that the granting of all of the demands would have added \$3 per ton to the already inflated cost of domestic anthracite.

#### ATTITUDE OF BOTH SIDES

In their reply to the demands the anthracite operators stated their willingness to continue negotiations with the United Mine Workers as an organization, provided that the principles laid down by the Roosevelt commission of 1902 and the Wilson commission of 1920 should continue to govern, and that the jurisdiction of the Anthracite

Board of Conciliation should not be questioned or abridged. They also made it distinctly clear that, in order to maintain the stability of the industry, to give continuously steady employment to the mine workers, and to meet the insistent demands of the consuming public for lower prices for anthracite, a readjustment of wages downward, not upward, was absolutely essential; that the entire economic situation not only forbade any increase in costs and prices, but compelled a reduction.

Following the presentation of the operators' reply, a subcommittee of eight, four from each side, was appointed to conduct negotiations.

Up to this time there had been no intimation that the President of the United Mine Workers would exercise his authority to call the men out on strike in the anthracite region. Without waiting, however, for the negotiations to get under way, the miners' leader, as the first matter of business at the opening of the meeting of the Negotiations Committee on March 21, read the order calling for a suspension of work on April 1 unless an agreement were reached by that date—a manifest impossibility. The representatives of the operators, to whom this came as a distinct surprise, indignantly and vigorously protested against such action as a breach of faith, unfair alike to the operators, to the mine workers, and to the public; but their protest was without avail. The President of the United Mine Workers, in this as in subsequent negotiations with the operators, and even in opposition to the President of the United States, showed an inflexible determination to carry his point "though the heavens fall."

As is well known to the readers of *CURRENT HISTORY*, the negotiations between operators and miners failed, as all such negotiations must fail when one side is dominated by a personality to which the spirit of compromise is unknown.

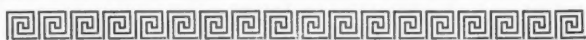
In an effort to reach a conclusion and to secure a resumption of mining, in order that no hardships should be imposed upon the public, the operators proposed that the matters in controversy be referred to an impartial tribunal appointed by the President of the United States. This was determinedly declined. A subsequent offer by

the President himself to effect a settlement through a commission met the same fate.

#### CRUX OF THE CONFLICT

It had by this time become apparent, in fact was admitted by the President of the United Mine Workers, that no agreement in the anthracite region was to be permitted until the controversy in the bituminous coal field had been brought to a conclusion. That was the more important struggle. There were 400,000 men in the bituminous field who paid union dues and assessments; there were only 155,000 mine workers in the anthracite field, and no settlement pertaining in any way to a compromise could be permitted in that region because of the influence it might have in the larger field. Whatever inconvenience may result to the communities dependent upon anthracite for their winter fuel must be charged to the determination of John L. Lewis to maintain domination of the bituminous coal industry by his organization. That he succeeded in doing this through the defection from the ranks of the operators of a few relatively small producers in Ohio and the subsequent gradual disintegration of the forces opposed to him is well known, although one object for which he fought—the re-establishment of a joint agreement in the Central Competitive Field (Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois) was not attained. Having, however, secured two other important objects, the maintenance of the rates of wages in effect prior to the strike and the continuance of the “check off” in the bituminous field, he relented somewhat in his attitude toward the anthracite industry, and agreed to meet once more in conference with the representatives of the operators to consider a compromise plan proposed by Senators Pepper and Reed and approved by President Harding.

Up to this time Lewis had refused ab-



[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

GOOD-BYE

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association

IT'S SAFER TO REASON WITH A GIANT  
THAN TO THREATEN HIM



solutely to consider any proposition which smacked in the least degree of arbitration. Once before, after the original negotiations had been broken off and the mediation of the President had been thrown into the discard, Senator Pepper had succeeded in securing a renewal of the conferences on Aug. 18, at which the representatives of the operators did all that seemed humanly possible to secure an agreement by which mining operations might be resumed, their final offer being couched in the following terms:

All mines to resume operation upon the execution of a contract extending to March 31, 1923, the wages and working conditions which were in effect March 31, 1922. This contract to provide that:

(a) On Jan. 3, 1923, the Anthracite Board of Conciliation shall meet in conference and determine wages and working conditions in the anthracite field effective for a period of one year beginning April 1, 1923. On Jan. 3, 1924, the board shall meet in like manner to determine wages and working conditions for a period of two years, beginning April 1, 1924.

(b) In case there has been no agreement prior to Feb. 15 in the years 1923 and 1924, the Presiding Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Third Judicial District shall appoint three disinterested citizens of outstanding character and ability, who shall sit with the board to hear the argument and make findings with respect to the matter in dispute. These findings shall be rendered on or before March 15, shall be recommendatory in character, and shall be subject to acceptance or rejection by either party within ten days thereafter.

This offer, like its predecessors, four in number, was considered as savoring too much of arbitration, though the findings of the proposed commission were not binding in character on either party. The offer, therefore, shared the fate of the others, whereupon the conference was abruptly terminated.

#### PLAN FINALLY ADOPTED

The plan proposed by the two Pennsylvania Senators was in the form of a letter addressed jointly to S. D. Warriner, Chairman of the General Policies Committee of Anthracite Operators, and John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, and embodied the following four proposals:

As Senators representing the Commonwealth in which the anthracite coal field lies, we earnestly urge your acceptance of the following proposal:

1. The contracts in force March 31, 1922, to be extended to Aug. 31, 1923, or March 31, 1924;
2. The production of coal to begin at once;
3. Your organizations to join in a recommendation to Congress that legislation be forthwith enacted creating a separate anthracite coal commission, with authority to investigate and report promptly on every phase of the industry;
4. The continuance of production, after the extension date, to be upon such terms as the parties may agree upon in the light of the report of the commission.

(Signed) GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER,  
DAVID A. REED.

To this was added one more appeal from the President of the United States:

The White House, Washington, D. C.,

Sept. 1, 1922.

To the Representatives of the Anthracite Operators and Miners:

The public interest transcends any partisan advantage that you might gain by further resistance. I urge you in the name of public welfare to accede to the proposal that has been advanced by Senators Pepper and Reed. Very truly yours,

(Signed) WARREN G. HARDING.

The plan and the letter from the President were considered at a meeting of the General Policies Committee on Sept. 2, and accepted by the passing of a resolution which said: "While we are still of the opinion that anthracite wages should be reduced, and that even the present emergency does not justify the continuation of the old scale, we nevertheless, in conformity with the insistent appeals of the President of the United States, the Senators from Pennsylvania, and the public, accept the proposal made by Senators Pepper and Reed."

A joint conference was arranged by Senator Pepper for the same evening in his offices in the Land Title Building, Philadelphia, and at 12:10 A. M. Sunday, Sept. 3, the tentative agreement embodying, with a few slight changes in verbiage, the plan as proposed, was signed by the representatives of miners and operators. It was ratified by a convention of the miners on Saturday, Sept. 9; mining operations were resumed on Monday morning, and thus was ended one of the most memorable strikes in the history of anthracite mining.

In one respect the anthracite strike of 1922 must be recorded as unique in the history of industrial conflicts. It was

peaceful throughout five and a half months of idleness on the part of over 150,000 men. There was no destruction, or attempted destruction, of property; there were no cases of murder or assault, no rioting, no bloodshed that could be charged to bitterness engendered by the strike, no such acts of lawlessness as marked its predecessor, the strike of 1902. The peaceful conduct of the recent strike has led to the charge of collusion between miners and operators—a conspiracy of some sort, by which old wages and old prices could be continued. Such charges are not worth denial. It is inconceivable that the miners should have sacrificed over \$100,000,000 in possible earnings—more than \$600 for every mine worker—and that the companies would have willingly incurred absolute losses aggregating approximately \$30,000,000 in the upkeep of their properties—not to mention profits that might have been accumulated—in a conspiracy to injure the public they serve and upon whose good-will they must depend.

The mine workers were unwisely and selfishly led, but their devotion to their leaders and to their organization, while it may be considered poor in judgment, is not without cause for admiration.

The peaceful conduct of the strike of 1922 may be attributed chiefly to the general spirit of amity between employer and employe that has grown up in the an-

thracite region as a result of the influence exerted through the Anthracite Board of Conciliation, which has proved its title to the name. There is little doubt that the controversy would have been comparatively short lived, and that no shortage in the supply of anthracite would have threatened, except for the influences from the outside—the troubles in the bituminous fields—which were injected into the anthracite situation.

Some criticism has been made of the fact that the anthracite operators made no attempt to open their mines in defiance of the union leaders. To have done so would have been the height of folly. In the first place, only certified miners are permitted under the laws of Pennsylvania to mine anthracite, and practically all of the certified miners are members of the union. In the second place, there was no disposition on the part of the anthracite operators to subject their employes to the hazard of being "considered as ordinary strikebreakers." Some of the families of the men who remained at work in the strike of 1902, when the region was not so thoroughly organized as it now is, suffer to this day a species of ostracism accorded to those who accept the chance of being dubbed "scabs" in the support of them-

selves and their dependents. There is nothing to be gained by acts which might undo the good work accomplished through the Conciliation Board.

[American Cartoon]



—Sacramento Bee

DOESN'T IT SAY SOMETHING IN THE  
CONSTITUTION ABOUT FREE SPEECH



# THE ARMISTICE IN THE COAL FIELDS

By THOMAS H. WATKINS  
President of the Pennsylvania Coal and Coke Corporation

*The great strike of 1922 depicted as one battle in the long campaign of the United Mine Workers to gain complete control of labor in both the anthracite and bituminous coal mines—View of the operators*

THE causes leading to the national strike of union miners in both the anthracite and bituminous fields were many. The strike itself was but a natural result of the conflict that has been going on for years, the miners' organization, known as the United Mine Workers of America, aiming to secure membership of all of the workers engaged in the production of bituminous coal in the United States and Canada. Such control would obviously enable them to dictate terms as to wages, working conditions and hours of labor. With the license granted to trade unions under the Clayton act, there would be no limit to the power that they could exercise in controlling production and fixing wages, rules and working conditions, which, of course, affect costs.

The anti-trust laws prevent operators or other producers from combining to fix prices. The miners' organization, while not actually fixing prices, yet controls costs by controlling wages, and this in turn affects prices. The miners' organization for years had a firm foothold, with complete unionism of the miners of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio; with about 50 per cent. of the bituminous workers in the State of Pennsylvania; with also scattered strongholds in West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama, and with almost complete control of the miners of Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Wyoming, Montana and Utah. It had for years succeeded in negotiating contracts with the operators in what is known as the Central Competitive

or Four-State field, namely, all of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and a section of Western Pennsylvania. This group of operators and miners negotiated what was known as a basic wage agreement. The miners' organization asserts that it must have some distinctive group with which to negotiate in order to arrange a base rate from which to radiate into outlying districts, these outlying districts being obliged to conform to the terms of the Central Competitive Field agreement.

For a period of twenty years prior to the war this method of arranging wage scales on the basis of collective bargaining was more or less successful and became the policy of the union and of the operators dealing with the union in the outlying districts. During the war, however, and under the auspices of the Fuel Administration, the Central Competitive Field method of making adjustments fell down, and adjustments and wage scales were made through the influence of the Fuel Administration.

In 1919 there was still in existence a contract, made under the influence of the Fuel Administration, which was to run until the war terminated, or until April 1, 1920. The miners' organization declared that the war was over and demanded a revision of the existing contract; failing to secure from the operators their demands, which, in addition to some minor changes, were for 60 per cent. advance in wages, a six-hour day and a five-day week, a national strike was called by the United

Mine Workers, taking effect on Nov. 1, 1919, and lasting about six weeks.

After the Federal injunction proceedings instituted at Indianapolis against the strikers, a settlement was finally reached through the influence of President Wilson by a compromise, both sides agreeing to submit their differences to a commission appointed by the President. This commission made its award effective April 1, 1920, which resulted in an increase over the war rates of approximately 28 per cent. in the Central Competitive Field, which affected all the outlying districts.

Following the instructions of the Presidential commission, operators in various districts made a two-year contract based on their award. This award did not embrace the non-union operator or miner, these classes being free to make changes in their wages and working conditions as they deemed best for their interests.

The consequence was that in the Fall of 1920, owing to a general business and economic collapse, the demand for coal falling off sharply, non-union operators promptly reduced wages and continued with a series of reductions so that in many districts wage rates amounted to only 50 per cent. of the rates prevailing in the union fields. The natural result of this was that the non-union operators were able to undersell operators working under union contracts. A large displacement of tonnage from union territory into non-union territory took place, increasing in volume during the year 1921 and up to April 1, 1922. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the consumption of coal fell from 568,666,683 tons in 1920 to 415,921,950 tons in 1921.

This sharp competition from the non-union fields during this period accentuated a condition which had existed prior to the war, when the same fields were free to make such wages as would meet economic changes. The Central Competitive Field arrangements compelled the union operators to maintain a rigid scale, and this, in effect, put a premium on the development of the non-union fields, which were free from restrictions placed upon the union fields.

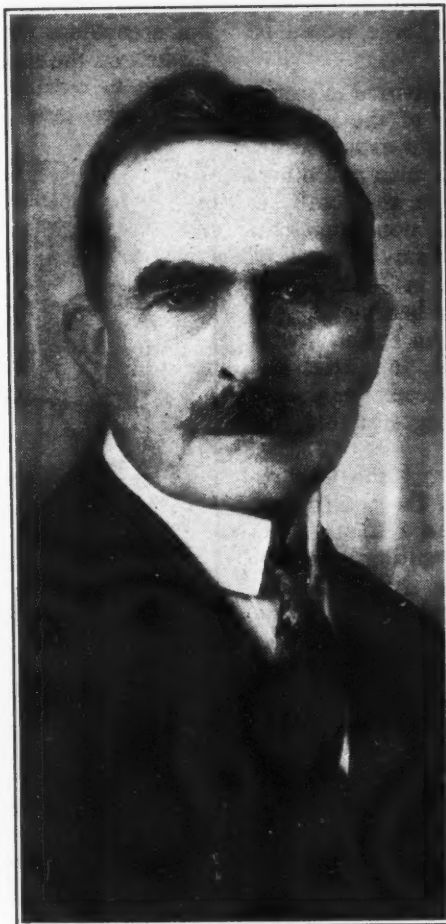
The Bituminous Coal Commission award of 1920, upon which contracts

were made, provided that the operators should meet the miners' representatives prior to the termination of the period covered by the award for the purpose of negotiating a new wage scale. Unfortunately, however, the acute competitive conditions referred to had caused disaster in many union districts, and because of the fact that the United Mine Workers had failed to live up to the award of the Bituminous Commission within three or four months after the award had become effective—by demanding still further increases in wages—what is known as the Central Field conference broke up on refusal of the operators to grant additional demands. The United Mine Workers then authorized the different districts to make such settlements as they deemed wise.

This furnished a precedent for the operators of Western Pennsylvania to refuse to comply with the mine workers' request to go into another joint conference. The operators demanded that the miners' representatives meet them in districts for the purpose of discussion. At no time was there a refusal to meet or recognize the miners' representatives. On this particular the public became very much confused, and the opinion seemed to be generally accepted that the operators had violated the provisions of the contract in regard to holding a future conference. The fact is that the miners had first broken the contract and had authorized district agreements, which plan the operators afterward insisted upon.

Failing to secure the Four-State Conference, the miners declared a national strike, and while there were no such differences as to meeting and conferring with the miners' representatives in the anthracite district, the national strike included the anthracite district. It is generally supposed that the miners adopted this policy because the more they could restrict production the more effective their strike would be.

During the strike, operators in various union districts posted notices inviting their men to go to work on what was known as the 1919 or war basis of wages. These wages were somewhat higher than the rates prevailing in the non-union fields



THOMAS H. WATKINS

competing with the union districts.

The union leaders stubbornly resisted any reduction in wages and flatly declared that there was a conspiracy to deflate the miners' scale, and that they would not permit it, on the ground that the miners' wages had been, prior to and during the war, out of line with the pay of other manual workers; they declared that intermittent employment, dangers of the occupation, and so on, warrant at least the wages the men were then getting, notwithstanding that their demands, as presented by their convention, were for increased wages and a repetition of the former demand for a six-hour day and a five-day week. The national strike resulted.

The non-union fields were a menace to the miners' organization, consequently an aggressive campaign was conducted with marching armies, violence, intimidation, boycotting, the usual weapons of the miners in securing additional membership. The horrible and beastly Herrin massacre finally resulted from the heat and passion that developed during the strike, and from

the miners' determination that no coal should be mined either by strikebreakers or by other union organizations, such as the Steam Shovel Union, members of which were attempting to produce coal from a stripping operation at Herrin.

The miners' leaders were fearful that if they followed the rates established in the non-union fields the rates in those fields would be still further reduced, and

that the miners would be placed on a pauperized wage basis. The ruthless competition engaged in by non-union operators for what business there was in sight did result in the reducing of wages below a reasonable basis at some operations, and justified to some extent the fear of the miners' leaders.

During the strike the miners had succeeded in getting many of the non-union miners to leave their work and join the union. This effort continued, with the result that the non-union operators evicted their men from their houses, which forced the union to provide tents to shelter the families and also to provide them with food. During the Summer there was not

much suffering from this cause, but naturally during the Winter there would be a great deal.

The miners' leaders endeavored to secure the co-operation of some of the railroad unions, and did to a certain extent secure sympathetic strikes of shopmen and others engaged in railroad service, the result being that the production of non-union coal was sharply curtailed; from a peak of 5,500,000 tons per week in June, it fell to 3,500,000 tons. It then became obvious that the country would soon be faced with an acute shortage of coal; industries and railroad service were already interfered with, and a very alarming situation was rapidly developing.

An insistent demand that the Government should take part in the controversy and try to bring about a settlement resulted in the President's calling a conference in Washington on July 1. The President made an appeal to the union operators and miners to try to adjust their differences. This effort failed, the operators offering, and the miners declining, arbitration. The President then called the operators and miners together and proposed to them that operations at the union mines be resumed on the "status quo" of March 31; in other words, that wages, check-off, and so forth, be retained.

The check-off means collection by the operators, from the mine workers' pay envelopes, of dues and assessments levied by the union. This the operators considered illegal and immoral, as the funds so collected were used to create a war chest to be used for fighting the union operators, and particularly for financing the miners' campaign for unionizing the balance of the coal fields of the country. The question is still undecided as to the operators' liability in being a party to collecting these dues when any part of them is used to finance a campaign which interferes with the operations of non-union producers.

The President's proposition included submitting the whole question to a commission to be appointed by him, consisting of five representatives of the public, three miners and three operators, each side agreeing to abide by the award. This proposition was accepted by the majority

of the operators in number and tonnage, but acceptance was refused by the miners' leaders on the ground that they would not submit to outside parties the question of their wages and living conditions; those

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

THE CRIPPLED GIANT

[American Cartoon]



—© New York Tribune

A LOT THEY CARE FOR FAIRNESS



matters, vital to them, must be a subject of collective bargaining.

A small group of operators from Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois, directly after the failure of the President's conference, offered to the miners' leaders a conference for the purpose of discussing a wage scale on the basis of the former four-State Conference. To this the miners' leaders agreed, and on Aug. 7 this conference commenced negotiations in Cleveland. Negotiations continued for a week—under the rules of the former Four-State Conferences—with the group of operators referred to. That conference failed to reach an agreement and adjourned *sine die*.

At that stage a suggestion made a week previous by Ralph Crews, representing some operators, and W. A. Glasgow, General Counsel for the United Mine Workers, to John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, and A. M. Ogle, President of the National Coal Association, was taken up by a small group of operators from various districts and presented to a new conference. This new body quickly assembled, and within twenty-four hours an agreement was arrived at which provided for the resumption of work at the mines of those accepting the agreement. The terms of the agreement provided for wages and working conditions as of March 31 last, including the continuance of the check-off until April 1, 1923. Within two weeks the Cleveland agreement referred to was accepted by owners of practically all the union mines of the country, and the production of coal immediately came up to 9,500,000 tons weekly, sufficient to supply all the needs of the country if adequate transportation is provided.

The principal and important features of the agreement upon which work was resumed in the bituminous fields are: First, resuming on the "status quo" of March 31 as to wages and working conditions; second, provision for a commission, called a fact-finding body, authorized to make a searching inquiry into every phase of the industry; the personnel of the commission to be of the highest character, men commanding public respect, to be appointed by the President. Congress has given au-

thority to the President to appoint such a commission, with full power to subpoena witnesses. Third, that the conference also appoint committees to consider and report on the best method of conducting future negotiations, in the hope that a plan may be found by which they can reach future wage agreements and avoid the differences of opinion which contributed to bring about the last national strike; also in the hope that collective bargaining on rational lines may be resumed, in order to avoid strikes and lockouts.

The agreement provided for a conference of all operators who accepted the agreement to meet in Cleveland on Oct. 2 for the purpose of submitting to the President a panel of names from which he might select a Fact-Finding Coal Commission to make a searching inquiry into every phase of the bituminous and anthracite industries. This commission's findings are to be in the form of recommendations, and not binding, but it is hoped by both sides that the recommendations, based on the facts ascertained, will be of such compelling influence that neither party will dare ignore them. Too much importance cannot be attached to the commission's inquiry; its investigation and recommendations should occupy public attention. Probably no commission sitting in many years has had such grave responsibilities as this one will have; upon it will fall the responsibility of making recommendations as to how to deal with large units of capital and of labor. The mine workers of the United States number about 800,000. Strikes and lockouts must be avoided in the coal mines, on our railroads and in other large industries, if our nation is to maintain its position as the leader of the industrial nations of the world.

It can be clearly seen that the Cleveland conference resulted in only a provisional agreement or armistice, but the agreement had the effect of preventing great suffering this Winter. It leaves all the principles involved as to check-off, working conditions and future methods of making wage agreements in abeyance during the period in which the commission is making its inquiry and recommendations.

# THE VICTORY OF THE COAL MINERS

By ELLIS SEARLES

Editor of The Mine Workers Journal, official organ  
of the United Mine Workers of America

*Causes of the strike, the object fought for, the indifference of the public, and the sequel of profiteering by mine operators and coal dealers—Terms of settlement arranged at the Cleveland conference*

OF the six hundred thousand union coal miners who went on strike on April 1 practically all are back at work. The strike, as far as the bituminous miners were concerned, ended on Aug. 14, 1922, when miners and operators reached an agreement at Cleveland, Ohio. In the anthracite industry the end came on Sept. 9, when the Tri-District convention of the United Mine Workers of America, at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., ratified the agreement that was signed by anthracite operators and miners at Philadelphia a few days previously. Thus ended the most gigantic industrial struggle that has ever taken place in America. That the miners won a notable victory is admitted on all sides. They got what they struck for, and they got it in the face of tremendous obstacles.

Much has been said and much has been written about the terrible things that have happened to the country and to the public as a result of the strike of coal miners, but for the life of me I cannot see where the country or the public has suffered to any appreciable extent, nor can I figure out where either is going to suffer. The strike took place in the Summertime, when there is very little demand for coal. Judging from the unconcerned attitude of the public at the time, it was evident that nobody cared if the coal miners were on strike. It was not an inconvenience to the average citizen to be out of coal in the heat of Summer. True, some industries slowed down here and there, but, as far as I have ever heard, the public did not have to do without anything that it actually needed. A few trains were taken off some of the railroads while the strike

was in progress, but perhaps there were too many trains, anyway. Transportation was made a little more difficult, perhaps, and there were some delays on account of the strike, but the commerce of the country was not destroyed, nor was it disjoined to any serious degree.

It was not until late in the season, after the strike had been in effect for perhaps four months, that the public began to sit up and take notice. Cold weather was then in sight, and the time was not far off when the people would need fuel; therefore, there was a sudden display of interest in the coal strike. But long before the advent of cold weather—long before it became necessary to heat the homes of the people—the great strike was settled and the miners were back on their jobs, digging coal with all their might.

There is just one phase of this conflict that gives the coal-consuming public a hard bump, and that is the conscienceless profiteering that a lot of ghouls started in to practice in the coal business. I call it conscienceless profiteering. It is worse than that. It is positively devilish for any set of men deliberately to raise the price of an essential commodity and make it all the more difficult for the poor people of this country to secure fuel with which to keep from freezing. But this profiteering cannot be laid at the door of the United Mine Workers of America. Profiteering is a sin, and it should be made a crime by law. Full responsibility for such profiteering rests squarely upon the shoulders of Congress and the various State Legislatures, where craven fear of a loss of votes at the next election prevents the enactment of laws that would make profiteering a

crime and protect the public against these robbers. Profiteering in coal, sugar, clothing, lumber, steel and everything else will continue until our legislative bodies acquire a sufficient amount of backbone to make laws that will send profiteers to the penitentiary.

It cannot be charged that the coal miners were guilty of profiteering. They returned to work at the same old rate of wages that they were receiving when they went on strike. Their working conditions were unchanged. Instead of profiteering, they lost five months' wages. There is no profiteering about that. They prevented a reduction in their pay that was proposed by coal operators, and they preserved the working conditions that they had labored for thirty years to establish. Production costs were not increased one single cent by reason of the strike of coal miners. When coal operators or coal dealers boost the price of coal to the consumer they cannot charge it up to the miner, for the miner is not getting any of the extra money that is being gouged from the public's pocketbook.

The coal strike would have ended many weeks sooner if the public had taken the same interest in it at the start that it displayed in the last few weeks. The public always settles any affair of this kind. Once public sentiment is aroused and brought into action, nothing can stand out against it. But the public never becomes excited over anything until it begins to feel a pinch.

#### CAUSE OF THE STRIKE

The United Mine Workers of America did not want a strike this year. On the contrary, they did everything that they could honorably do to keep from a strike, but they were forced into it. When their contract with the bituminous operators expired on March 31 they were unable to induce the operators to enter into a new agreement. In fact, the operators refused flatly to negotiate with them for an agreement to take the place of the one then expiring, although the operators agreed in writing in New York on March 30, 1920, that they would meet with the miners before the expiration of the contract to make a new one. As far back as last December

the United Mine Workers of America requested the operators to meet with them at Pittsburgh early in January, and the operators refused. Other invitations were sent later, but they, too, were turned down. So, when the 1st of April came around, there was no wage scale, and the miners could not know what they were to receive for their labor in the coming period of time. The only thing left for the miners to do, they believed, was to quit work and wait until the wage scale and the working conditions were determined.

There were 60,000,000 to 70,000,000 tons of soft coal above ground on the 1st of April, and the Government and everybody else except the miners began lulling the people to sleep with a lullaby to the effect that there was no danger of a coal shortage. They overlooked the fact, however, that the strike might last for many weeks, during all of which time there would be a constant drain on the stock of surplus coal.

The miners insisted upon a joint conference that would make a new agreement for what was known as the Central Competitive Field, composed of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. For a quarter of a century this group of States had been made the basis for negotiations for the entire country. The wage scale fixed for this field became the basic scale for the bituminous industry everywhere. But this year the operators refused to negotiate for the Central Competitive Field. They insisted on making separate agreements for each State or mining district. The miners refused thus to disrupt the Central Competitive Field and adopt some other method of reaching a basic agreement.

Operators in many districts announced wage reductions varying from 20 to 40 per cent. This, also, the miners refused to accept. Many operators also announced that they would no longer agree to the check-off system for the collection of union dues, a system by which the operator deducts the amount from the pay of the employe and remits it to the union. The check-off has been in effect in the coal industry in this country for a great many years, and the miners said they would

fight as hard to retain it as for any other point.

#### NON-UNION MEN'S ATTITUDE

Non-union coal operators, especially those of West Virginia, assured the public that they could and would produce enough coal to meet all essential needs during the strike. They said their non-union miners could be depended upon to remain at work. They said their men were satisfied, contented and happy and that they would not strike with the union miners. How little they know about their own employees was shown by results. The United Mine Workers of America invited all non-union miners to join in the strike, and scores of thousands of these men laid down their tools on April 1 and went out with the union miners. Something like 80,000 non-union miners quit in the Connellsville and Westmoreland fields of Pennsylvania, where the union had not had a foothold for many years; these men stood like a solid wall throughout the strike period, and they are still out. It is impossible to estimate the extent to which they assisted the union to win the strike by their standing firmly in line. Nearly all of them joined the United Mine Workers of America, thus giving the union a firm hold in those fields for the first time in many years.

West Virginia and Pennsylvania non-union operators were surprised when their men quit. They had not expected them to do so. Being unable to coax them back into the mines, resort was had to the courts, especially in some fields of West Virginia. Thousands of non-union miners joined the union, and the strike there was a grim reality until courts began turning out injunctions "mine run." Dozens of such injunctions were issued by West Virginia courts. They were of the most drastic character, making it impossible for union miners to meet together, discuss the strike or aid or assist those on strike. The collection of the check-off was prohibited by injunction. Every possible activity was made impossible. The result was that these injunctions broke the strike in some places, as it was intended they should, and the strike, to some degree, failed there. It was a clear case of driving un-

willing men back to work with injunction writs.

About July 1 the Administration at Washington tried its hand at the task of either settling or breaking the strike. President Harding, acting under poor advice, called the wrong kind of a conference at Washington. Representatives of miners and operators attended, but the conference accomplished nothing, because operators insisted upon district settlements. Next a plan, fostered by Secretary Hoover, was presented, providing for a scheme of arbitration. The miners rejected it and a majority of the operators also turned it down, while a minority of operators offered to accept. But this plan fizzled out. Some of the operators had led President Harding to believe that with military protection they could get plenty of miners to produce coal, and the President invited them to return to their properties and begin operations, assuring them that protection would be afforded if necessary. Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania sent eleven hundred soldiers into the bituminous fields of Western Pennsylvania to guard the army of men that was to flock back to the mines, but the army did not flock. A few strike-breakers were imported into the mines, but the production of coal did not increase. Operators were unable to deliver on their promise of production under military protection. Governor McCray of Indiana sent a thousand soldiers into the mining fields of that State, where they remained for several weeks, and in all that time there was produced about 1,600 tons of coal at a cost to the State of approximately \$100 to \$150 a ton, including the cost of the military display. Other States had a similar experience.

It was apparent that the strike could not be broken and that the morale of the strikers could not be destroyed. From everywhere there came a demand for a settlement. Many operators were in favor of a settlement, while others declared they would stick "till hell froze over." But the freezing process started earlier than they expected. Those operators who were in favor of an adjustment got together with President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America, and they



called a joint conference at Cleveland of operators from all over the country. Most of the Ohio operators responded and were present. There were a few from Indiana, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and several



(© Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.)

ELLIS SEARLES

other States, but the tonnage represented by all those in attendance was only 10 to 12 per cent. of the total tonnage of the country. There were indications of a speedy settlement, but all such hopes were kicked over when certain operators injected into the conference the subject of arbitration as a method of settlement. The miners refused arbitration. They insisted upon retaining the old principle of collective bargaining in the industry and said they would not agree to substitute arbitra-

tion for that plan. Thereupon the conference split, several large operators walking out. But a reorganization took place immediately, and an agreement was reached and signed on Aug. 14 by all of those operators present. Others in the various soft-coal producing States soon fell in line and signed up, until today the soft-coal mines throughout the country are in operation, except those in Pennsylvania, where the newly organized men are still out.

The Cleveland conference will be historic in one respect in the coal industry. There, for the first time, a plan was agreed to which is expected to prevent future strikes in the coal industry. The agreement provided that miners and operators should meet at Cleveland on Oct. 2 and determine upon the method of procedure to be followed in negotiating the next contract. And it also fixed Jan. 2, 1923, as the date of the next joint conference for that purpose. Thus, we find that if all parties are in earnest and if they enter the joint conference with an honest purpose to work out an agreement on a fair basis, there is little if any likelihood of another strike of coal miners next Spring.

Negotiations in the anthracite industry dragged along for many months, with an occasional break-up that looked like disaster. But a settlement was reached there, also, by the terms of which the miners retained their old wage scale, defeated the proposed 21 per cent. reduction, defeated all efforts toward the adopting of arbitration as a substitute for collective bargaining, and endorsed the plan for an investigation of the anthracite industry by a commission. A similar commission was created by the Cleveland agreement for the bituminous industry, the findings and recommendations of the commission to be completed in time to be available to miners and operators in the negotiation of the next agreement.

The miners do not want another strike next Spring. I do not believe the operators will try to bring on another strike, and I am confident the public does not want one.



JOHN MARSHALL OF VIRGINIA,  
Chief Justice of the United States, 1801-1835

## THE SUPREME COURT

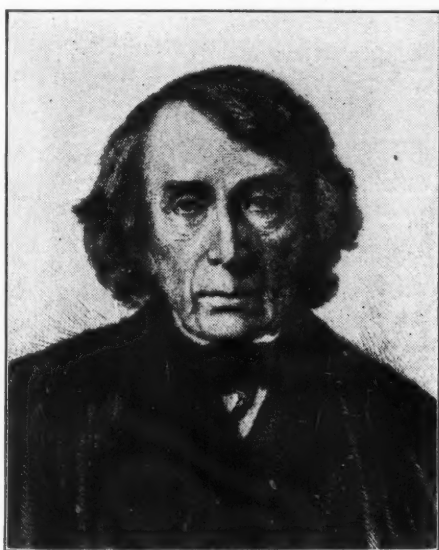
A MONTH or two ago, Senator Robert La Follette made a speech before the American Federation of Labor. In this speech he vigorously denounced recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which tend to curtail the powers of Congress. But he did much more—he attacked the very right of the court to declare laws unconstitutional. He insisted that nowhere in the Constitution has this power been directly granted, and that it was not the intention of the Fathers of the Constitution to establish “a paramount judiciary.” In the Senator’s opinion, the power of judicial review—the most important power exercised by the Supreme Court—is a “usurpation.”

Such charges have been answered in the past. The United States is a federalism, in which the powers of government are divided between State and Nation, and between the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary. This delicate partition of

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

*An illuminating study of the Supreme Court's part in shaping the nation's destiny, based on a new three-volume history of its work—The charge of usurpation examined—Decisions on State and property rights, on slavery, on powers of Congress and other momentous questions*

authority has been made by a written Constitution, and it is the inherent function of the judicial power to interpret this Constitution, and to maintain a working relationship between its different parts. In England there is no Supreme Court such as there is in the United States; but in England there is no written Constitution, and there is no division or limitation of pow-



ROGER B. TANEY OF MARYLAND,  
Chief Justice of the United States, 1836-1864

## IN AMERICAN HISTORY

ers. Parliament is absolutely supreme. England believes in unrestricted, the United States in restricted, legislative power. In England, therefore, there is no place for the "judicial review" of legislation; but in the United States it is essential to the form and theory of our Government.

From the historical standpoint, it is known that the seventeen most important members of the Constitutional Assembly which met in Philadelphia in the Summer of 1787 recognized that the courts should declare laws void when they violated the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Charles Warren, in his work, "The Supreme Court in United States History," brings out much additional evidence to prove that the power of judicial review was universally admitted in the early days

of the Republic. Constitutional questions came before circuit courts in 1792 and 1799. The Supreme Court in 1796 sustained the constitutionality of a carriage tax levied by Congress (*Hylton v. United States*<sup>2</sup>). It is extremely interesting to learn that this was a moot case, in which counsel on both sides was paid by the Government, in order to obtain a decision as to the validity of the tax. In fact, within two years after the Government began, the United States Circuit Courts held State statutes invalid without arousing State hostility.

In the early debates of Congress, representatives both of the North and of the South recognized the power of judicial review. Nowhere in the political literature of the period between 1789 and 1802 is this power challenged. Even those ele-

<sup>1</sup> Charles Warren, "The Supreme Court in United States History," 3 volumes, 1789-1918. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> 3 Dallas, 171; cf. also *Ware v. Hylton*, 3 Dallas, 199, where the supremacy of a treaty over a State law was sustained.

ments which later attacked the Supreme Court, the Anti-Federalists, originally recognized that the power of judicial review existed. They called upon the Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional the alien and sedition laws and the national bank. When the court did not nullify the alien and sedition laws, the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions were drawn up asserting the right of the State to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional. But Mr. Warren points out that even these radical resolutions did not deny that power to the Supreme Court. They merely added the veto of the State to that of the judiciary.

Although Marshall's decision in *Marbury v. Madison*<sup>3</sup> was bitterly attacked, this was not because of his masterly argument in favor of judicial review, or because this was the first act of Congress to be declared unconstitutional; but because of the assertion that the judiciary could interfere with the Executive to compel the performance of *Ministerial* duties. In another early decision of the court which was bitterly criticised — *McCulloch v. Maryland*<sup>4</sup>—its opponents did not attack the power of judicial review, but they did attack the court for its *failure* to exercise that power and overturn the Bank of the United States.

After 1802 many arguments were made that the power of judicial review had been "usurped" by the court. But Mr. Warren proves that these arguments did not arise out of vital differences in political theory, but that they were caused by the fact that the court had restrained the economic or political ambitions of those who now opposed it. The Jeffersonian party was pro-French; yet the Supreme Court upheld the strictest conception of neutrality in the war between France and England, and it denied to the French the right of maintaining prize courts on American soil. The Anti-Federalists wanted to confiscate British debts; but the court sustained these debts because of treaty obligations. The Anti-Federalists opposed legislation, such as the National Bank and the alien law, on the ground of policy; but having failed to prevent its enactment,

they ran to the court to secure its overthrow on the ground of law. But when the court refused to be a creature of their will, they not only attacked its decisions, but the very right to make them as well.

When the Supreme Court decided against the Northern and Middle States, opposition to it was as bitter as when it decided against the South. When the court sustained the Embargo law of 1808, Massachusetts and Connecticut used exactly the same arguments against its power as had Virginia and Kentucky. By 1824 the court had declared the laws of ten States unconstitutional. In fact, during the whole period before the Civil War, the Federal judiciary limited the power of the States rather than of Congress; the power of the latter body was curtailed only twice.<sup>5</sup>

#### JURISDICTION OVER STATES

The first important step taken by the Supreme Court was to establish its jurisdiction over the States which, despite the Constitution of 1789, regarded themselves as sovereign and amenable to no courts of law. A shock to this doctrine came when it was ruled that a State, under the Constitution, might be sued.<sup>6</sup> States-rightism, however, was so strong that it succeeded in enacting the Eleventh Amendment, which provided that the Federal courts could not entertain a suit against a State by a citizen of another State—a provision which today prevents many foreign bondholders from collecting interest on defaulted State bonds. Undaunted by this opposition, the court now established its power to declare State laws unconstitutional, in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, when it ruled that a State tax on the Bank of the United States was void, as an obstruction to the legitimate activities of the Federal Government. In 1821<sup>7</sup> it held that the Federal judiciary power extended to all cases where a law of the United States was involved, even if a State was a party, and that it had the right to review a decision of the Virginia Supreme Court as to a Congressional lottery. Three years later the Supreme Court ruled that, despite the Eleventh Amendment, it might review acts

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cranch., 137.

<sup>4</sup> 4 Wheat., 316.

<sup>5</sup> *Marbury v. Madison*, supra; *Scott v. Sandford*, 9 How., 393.

<sup>6</sup> *Chisholm v. Georgia*, 2 Dallas, 419.

<sup>7</sup> *Cohens v. Virginia*, 6 Wheat., 264.



of State officials and set them aside when contrary to law.<sup>8</sup> Thus the court early established its jurisdiction over all the branches of a State Government whenever they came into conflict with the Constitution of the United States.

In the second place, the Supreme Court actively intervened to protect property rights. Under the old Articles of Confederation, State Legislatures passed stay laws postponing the payment of debts, changed the terms of contracts and compelled creditors to accept almost worthless paper money in payment of debt. One of the most important reasons for framing the new Constitution was to prevent these encroachments on vested rights and these violations of the most fundamental rules of morality. Section 10 of the first article of the Constitution was framed with a view to checking such actions on the part of State Legislatures. One clause in this section said that no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts. But what was a contract? Was it an agreement between individuals? Or did it include grants or charters made by the State to individuals? These were questions for the Supreme Court to determine.

One of the first cases involving this clause concerned the "Yazoo Land Claims." In this case the Georgia Legislature had been virtually bribed to give thousands of acres of public land to private companies. A succeeding Legislature nullified these grants on the ground that they had been obtained by fraud. But the Supreme Court held that this Repeal act impaired the obligation of the contract into which the first Legislature had entered.<sup>9</sup> In the famous Dartmouth College case, the court ruled that a charter granted the college by the State of New Hampshire was a contract, the terms of which the State could not change without the consent of the other party.<sup>10</sup> In 1819 it declared that a State could not apply a bankruptcy law to contracts made between individuals before the law was passed.<sup>11</sup> In 1830 it nullified loan certificates issued by Missouri, on the ground that they were "bills

of credit" which the State had no right to issue.<sup>12</sup>

These four decisions had a tremendous effect on the commercial development of the nation. A business man now knew that when he invested money a State Legislature could not arbitrarily take it away from him; his capital would remain secure. At the same time, the decisions in the Yazoo and the Dartmouth College cases went too far. They probably were based—although Mr. Warren does not bring it out—on erroneous conceptions of law. Practically, they meant that when a State Legislature, no matter how corrupt it was, gave life to a corporation, a Leviathan had been created which succeeding State Legislatures could not control. In thus ignoring the social interests, these decisions could not endure. And they have been overturned, first, by the action reserving to the State the right to amend a charter after it is granted, and, second, by the gradual development of the doctrine that a State cannot contract away its "police power," or its right to protect the safety, morals, health and general welfare of the community.<sup>13</sup>

#### THE POWERS OF CONGRESS

The third line of development followed by the Supreme Court was in the interpretation of the powers granted by the Constitution to Congress. As early as 1805 John Marshall outlined the doctrine of "implied powers," which he elaborated in 1819 in the great case of *McCulloch v. Maryland*. This case involved the power of Congress to charter a bank. No such power had been directly given it by the Constitution, but it had been given the right to coin and borrow money and to do anything "necessary and proper" toward these ends. It was contended that a bank was not "necessary." But Marshall swept aside this strict construction of the Constitution, and said, "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional." This was one of

<sup>8</sup> *Osborn v. the Bank of the United States*, 9 Wheaton, 738.

<sup>9</sup> *Fletcher v. Peck*, 6 Cranch, 87.

<sup>10</sup> *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 4 Wheat., 518.

<sup>11</sup> *Sturges v. Crowninshield*, 4 Wheat., 122.

<sup>12</sup> *Craig v. Missouri*, 4 Pet., 410.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Stone v. Mississippi*, 101 U. S., 814.

the most important decisions ever made by the Supreme Court. The doctrine of "implied powers" has enabled Congress to cope with every national emergency, whether arising in peace or in war. It has enabled it to adapt the activities of Government to the swiftly-changing economic and social conditions of our national life. And until recently, at least,<sup>14</sup> it has made Congress the virtual judge of the means to be employed in the exercise of the powers granted to it. Without this decision the history of this country would have been very different—the Union would probably be dead.

Another illustration of the manner in which the court interpreted the power of Congress was shown in the commerce clause. It was the contention of some of the States, notably New York, that the power to regulate interstate commerce was concurrent, i. e., could be exercised by both the State and Congress. Proceeding on this theory, New York granted a steamboat monopoly. The Supreme Court, however, declared that this monopoly was illegal, on the ground that Congress alone could regulate interstate commerce—that it was an exclusive power.<sup>15</sup> In a later case, a State tax on imports was overturned because it was a State regulation of commerce.<sup>16</sup> But the court recognized the general taxing power of the State by declaring that such goods could be taxed after they had been taken out of their "original packages." If these decisions had gone the other way, if State commercial monopolies and discriminatory State taxes on imports had been sustained, it is easy to see that the development of commerce and industry on a national scale would have been impossible.

#### DEFINITION OF COMMERCE

The court has been forced to draw delicate distinctions between what is commerce and what is not. Commerce, it has said, includes navigation, traffic in goods, sales, the negotiation of sales, the transportation of goods and passengers, and instrumentalities of commerce, such as trains and telegraphs; it even includes the transmission of ideas. All these activities

Congress may regulate. But commerce does not include manufacture, agriculture, or certain business, such as insurance. Under the power to regulate commerce, Congress has passed anti-trust laws, established the Interstate Commerce Commission and regulated railroad wages and rates. But this power is subject to the searching scrutiny of the Supreme Court. It is the final authority which determines whether such regulations are reasonable; in its hands the very existence of most corporations rests, because it is the court which decides whether or not a corporation is a "trust" in the eyes of the law.

Although the Supreme Court has sustained laws prohibiting the transportation of bad articles of commerce, such as lottery tickets and impure food, it has never sustained the power of Congress to prohibit any article it wishes from commerce. Apparently the court draws a distinction between articles inherently bad and articles which are good in themselves. Thus articles manufactured in factories where child labor is employed are nevertheless "good" articles of commerce, the transportation of which Congress cannot prohibit.<sup>17</sup>

The commerce clause consists only of a dozen words. Yet its real meaning cannot be found there, or in the debates of Congress, or in Presidential messages. It can be found only in thousands of pages of reports of the Supreme Court, which has applied its magic words to enterprises valued at millions of dollars and employing thousands of men.

For some thirty-five years (1801-1835) John Marshall presided over the Supreme Court. A conservative by nature, he developed the twin doctrines of National Supremacy and of Individualism, both of which frowned upon government by popular majority. But during the greater part of Marshall's tenure Congress and the Presidency were controlled by the Jeffersonians, who decried the concentration of power at Washington as a step toward monarchy, and who elevated the rights of life and society above those of property.

Despite the great services of Marshall to the nation, it was well that he was succeeded at this time by Roger Brooke Taney.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.* (1922), U. S. Sup. Ct., Oct. Term, 1921, No. 657.

<sup>15</sup> *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 9 Wheat., 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Brown v. Maryland*, 12 Wheat., 419.

<sup>17</sup> *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U. S., 251.

Belying the Whig fears that he would undo all of Marshall's achievements, Taney maintained the principle of Federal supremacy. Thus he extended the jurisdiction of the Federal courts in admiralty cases, and he upheld the plenary power of the Federal Government over public lands and its exclusive authority over foreign relations.<sup>18</sup> The greatest service of Taney to the nation, however, was that he laid the foundation for the doctrine of State "police power," which justifies the invasion of private rights when the interests of society demand it. Under Taney's leadership, the American judiciary infused a human element into our legal system. Taney himself insisted that the power of the State to carry out the general welfare of its inhabitants should be as unlimited as was the power of Congress to exercise the authority granted it by the Constitution.

#### MOMENTOUS RULING ON SLAVERY

The Supreme Court was successful in settling practically all the questions which came before it previous to the Civil War, except the question of slavery. When the court upheld the exclusive power of Congress over the subject of fugitive slaves,<sup>19</sup> the abolitionists attacked it as bitterly as had the slaveowners in years before. The struggle over slavery passed into the judiciary; and North and South vied with each other in securing the appointment of Judges inclined toward their views. There was little basis for the pro-slavery charges against the court, so far as its decisions were concerned, until the *Dred Scott* case of 1857. *Dred Scott* was a negro slave taken by his master from the slave State of Missouri into the Northwest Territory, which, under the Missouri Compromise act, made him a free man. He was then taken back to Missouri, where the State Supreme Court held that he now resumed his former status of a slave. The question was referred to the United States Supreme Court, which then made an attempt to settle the whole slavery question. It declared that a negro was not a citizen of the United States. This was all that was necessary to settle the case, for if *Scott*

was not a citizen, he did not have a right to sue in the Supreme Court.

But the court went further and declared that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from the Territories. This decision naturally aroused the intense hostility of the North. If slavery was a sacrosanct form of property which Congress could not control in Territories over which its power had formerly been held virtually supreme,<sup>20</sup> slavery would soon have the whole nation at its mercy. Moreover, this decision ran counter to the theory of the Douglas Democrats, who believed in "squatter sovereignty"—the right of the people to decide the slavery question for themselves. But the court even denied this doctrine. This decision was at once very momentous and very questionable. It is possible that if it had not been made, the Civil War would never have been fought. The only means left of killing slavery was by war. The decision split the Democratic Party in two—one portion following Douglas and the other following the court. It rallied the Northern Republicans to Lincoln, and thus it really resulted in his election to the Presidency. From the standpoint of the court's influence, the *Dred Scott* decision so weakened it with public opinion that it was to be nearly powerless in controlling the arbitrary war measures of Lincoln, or the reconstruction activities of Congress.

#### THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

Space does not permit a discussion of the development of the war power by the courts; or the great victory for human liberty won in *ex-parte Milligan*,<sup>21</sup> where it was ruled that military courts could not be established as long as civil courts were open; or the court's refusal to interfere in the reconstruction quarrels of President Johnson and Congress. It is well worth while, however, to observe how the Supreme Court greatly increased its influence through its relation to the Fourteenth Amendment, enacted to protect the negro, at the close of the Civil War. This amendment says that every person born in the United States is a citizen thereof and

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *United States v. Gratiot*, 14 Pet., 526, and *Holmes v. Jennison*, 14 Pet., 540.

<sup>19</sup> *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, 16 Pet., 539.

<sup>20</sup> *American Insurance Co. v. Canter*, 1 Pet., 511.

<sup>21</sup> 4 Wall., 2.

of the State in which he resides; it provides that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person the equal protection of the laws, or pass any law abridging the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States.

This amendment was forced on the country by the radical Republicans, who believed that, despite the emancipation of the slaves, the South would still maintain the negro in a state of virtual serfdom. In order to place the civil rights of the negro under the protection of Congress, the "privileges and immunities" clause was inserted and Congress was given the right to pass "appropriate legislation" to carry out the amendment. If this original intention had been carried out, the Federal basis of our Government would have been practically overthrown; Congress would have taken to itself the power to control strictly internal affairs hitherto left to the States. But the Supreme Court would not accept this interpretation. It did not believe that the Federal form of Government should be changed. In the *Slaughter House* cases,<sup>22</sup> it so construed the Fourteenth Amendment as to leave the power of the States intact. In this case a "carpet bag" Legislature in Louisiana had granted a monopoly to some butchers in New Orleans. This monopoly was attacked chiefly on the ground that it abridged the privileges of United States citizenship, guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. But the Supreme Court ruled that there was a difference between privileges of State and privileges of Federal citizenship. The latter privileges were very limited—they did not include ordinary civil rights, such as the privilege freely to engage in business, which was a privilege of State citizenship, subject to the control of Louisiana alone.

In a second class of cases, the Civil Rights cases,<sup>23</sup> the court again limited the extent of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the Civil Rights act Congress had punished individuals who barred negroes from hotels, trains, and so forth, and also punished other conspiracies against them. But this act and other similar laws were de-

clared unconstitutional on the ground that the Fourteenth Amendment authorized the intervention of the Federal Government only against acts of the States, and not of the individual. As regards the negro, it was implied, at least, that Congress could punish acts of commission on the part of the State, but not acts of omission. According to this decision, individuals might conspire to kill negroes to their hearts' content, but Congress was powerless to act. Because of these Civil Rights cases, Congress today probably does not have the power to pass an anti-lynching bill, because lynching is always the work of individuals, who can be controlled only by the State Government.<sup>24</sup>

By these two decisions the Supreme Court virtually struck out two clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment—the one prohibiting the abridgment of the privileges of United States citizenship, and the one authorizing Congress to pass "appropriate" legislation. Both of these provisions were now useless, because the court itself could already declare acts of States violating the amendment unconstitutional.

#### CHECKS ON STATE LEGISLATURES

But the Supreme Court did not stop merely with restraining the power of Congress under the amendment. After a brief interlude, it utilized the "due process" clause to review acts of State Legislatures which in the *Slaughter House* case it had refused to scrutinize. The Fourteenth Amendment says that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law. What were "due process of law," "liberty," "property"? Who was to decide? Could the State interpret these terms as it pleased? This position was taken by the Court in an early Granger case,<sup>25</sup> where it virtually declared that a State Legislature could fix the rates of a corporation engaged in public business at any point it wished. If these rates were confiscatory, the corporation should go to the polls, not to the court, for relief. But this doctrine

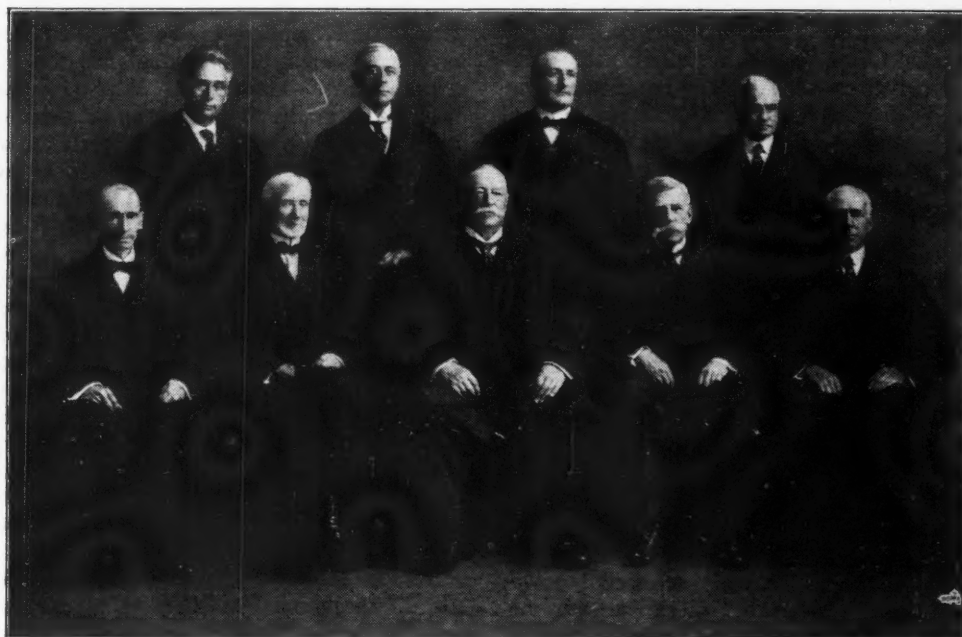
<sup>22</sup> 16 Wall., 36.

<sup>23</sup> 109 U. S., 3.

<sup>24</sup> Space forbids discussion of a possible divergence from this doctrine in *Ex Parte Virginia*, 100 U. S., 339; *Home Telephone Co. v. Los Angeles*, 227 U. S., 278; and *Truax v. Corrigan*, 42 Sup. Ct., 124.

<sup>25</sup> *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U. S., 113.





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The first photograph to be made of the Supreme Court of the United States after the appointment of William Howard Taft as Chief Justice. Those in the court, left to right, seated: Justice William R. Day, Justice Joseph McKenna, Chief Justice Taft, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and Justice Willis Van Devanter. Left to right, standing: Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis, Justice Mahlon Pitney, Justice James Clark McReynolds and Justice John Hessin Clarke (recently succeeded by Justice George Sutherland)

was not long retained. A few years later, the court upheld the general right of the State to control corporations, and so forth, under the police power; but it established the right of the court to review these acts to determine whether or not they were reasonable, i. e., whether they were "due process of law" in the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>20</sup>

In other decisions, the court expanded the meaning of the word "liberty" so as to include the right freely to engage in business, and "property" as the right to acquire property. In fact, there is not a single act which a State Legislature can now pass which does not affect the "liberty" or "property" of some person, as those terms have been interpreted by the court. The court has a right to review all these acts, to determine whether or not they follow due process of law. But it has been forced to admit that due process of law cannot be defined, except as it arises

in each case. Because the term is so vague, and because the rights protected are so vast, the Supreme Court has come to pass on the *reasonableness* and *expediency* of the legislation, which have now become the test of the power to enact it. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Supreme Court of the United States is a third Chamber in every State Legislature in the country.

#### STAND ON SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Before the Civil War the Supreme Court was attacked primarily because it limited the powers of the State when they interfered with the Federal Government. Since the Civil War, it has been attacked because of its stand against social legislation, the necessity of which has been widely recognized. In 1894 the Supreme Court declared a Federal income tax law unconstitutional, on the ground that it was a direct tax which had to be levied according to population, which defeated the very

<sup>20</sup> *Mugler v. Kansas*, 123 U. S., 123.

idea of an income tax.<sup>27</sup> Later it declared a New York ten-hour bakers' law unconstitutional, on the ground that it was a deprivation of liberty without due process.<sup>28</sup> It has declared unconstitutional State and Federal legislation prohibiting the discharge of men on account of union affiliation.<sup>29</sup> It has also nullified a Washington statute prohibiting private employment agencies, and an Arizona law prohibiting the use of injunctions in labor disputes.<sup>30</sup> It has set aside two attempts of Congress to destroy child labor.<sup>31</sup>

But at the same time, the Supreme Court has sustained dozens of equally important laws, most of which have passed unnoticed. It has upheld workingmen's compensation legislation; it has apparently set aside its *Lochner* doctrine in more recent decisions upholding State wage laws; it has sustained the power of Congress arbitrarily to fix railway wages, a power which may conceivably extend to every interstate industry;<sup>32</sup> it has upheld the New York rent laws, which prohibit a man from turning a tenant out of his house, even after the expiration of a lease.<sup>33</sup>

Stripped of the legal mysticism with which the court is surrounded, its power comes down to this: it lets Congress do pretty nearly what it pleases, as long as its acts bear a reasonable relationship to powers delegated to it by the Constitution. It sustains State legislation when it believes that it is supported by a preponderate and thoughtful public opinion. But it will set aside State legislation which it believes is the work of a special interest or of an ephemeral majority, whenever such legislation affects private property rights. Legislation unconstitutional at one time may readily be declared constitutional at another, on account of changed conditions. The Supreme Court may be mistaken in its interpretation of public opinion. If so, it must later change its position. This is why the legal doctrine of *stare decisis* can never be applied in constitutional law.

Samuel Gompers and Robert La Follette should find comfort in the fact that they have not been alone in attacking the Supreme Court. As early as 1802 Congress abolished the June and December terms of the Supreme Court, so that a decision on the constitutionality of the Repeal act would be postponed. If early attempts at impeachment, such as the trial of Judge Chase, had proved successful, Judges would have been regularly impeached merely for declaring a law unconstitutional. In 1808 it was proposed that Judges of the Supreme Court be removed on the joint address of both houses of Congress. In 1824, 1827, 1829 and 1868 it was also suggested in Congress that a unanimous or two-thirds vote of the court be required before it could declare a law unconstitutional. A limited term for Federal Judges was also suggested. Thomas Jefferson believed that each Judge should file an individual opinion in every case, that Congress should formally approve or denounce these opinions, and that the Judge should be impeached if he refuse to accede to Congress's wish. After the decision in *Cohens v. Virginia*, Spencer Roane advocated the repeal of the 25th section of the Judiciary act, from which the court derived its power to review State decisions. Another suggested that the President should have the power to remove Judges at the address of two-thirds of the State Legislatures. Between 1850 and 1873 there was not a single year, except during the Civil War, when some legislation was not introduced into Congress to curtail the powers of the Supreme Court. After the Civil War, Thaddeus Stevens and Senator Trumbull introduced bills to deprive the court of the right to review reconstruction acts; and a law was actually passed which deprived the Supreme Court of its jurisdiction in the *McCordle* case.

Despite these repeated attacks, the Supreme Court has maintained its power of judicial review unimpaired. Errors have been made in its exercise. But time has removed them, when time could never have removed the damage which the absence of this power would have caused. It is a power the exercise of which before the Civil War preserved the Federal Government against the jealous localism of the

<sup>27</sup> *Pollock v. Farmers Loan and Trust Co.*, 158 U. S., 601.

<sup>28</sup> *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U. S., 45.

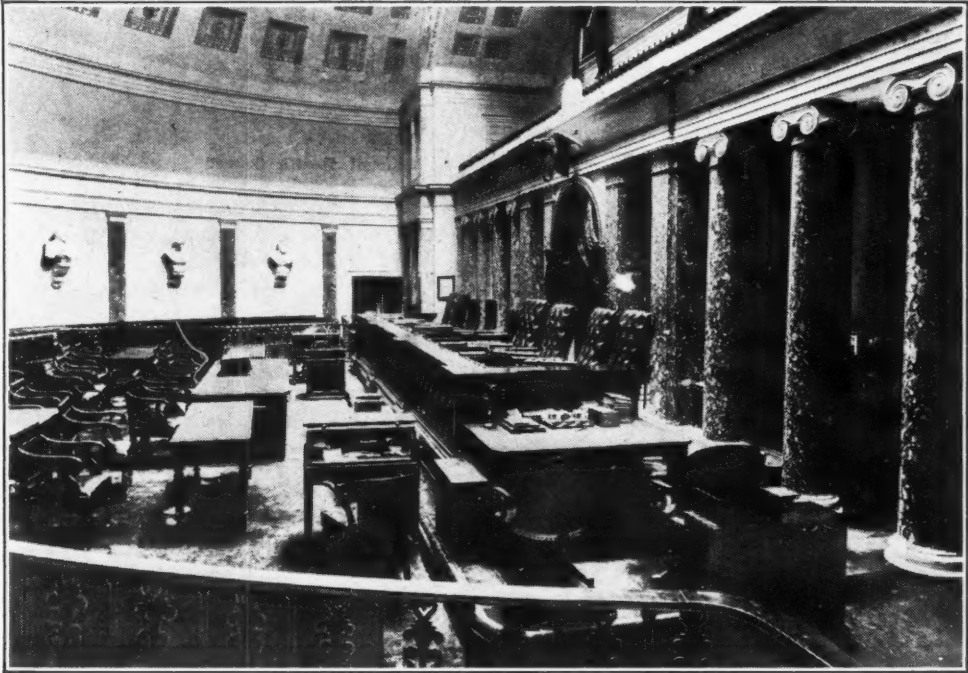
<sup>29</sup> *Coppage v. Kansas*, 236 U. S., 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Adams v. Tanner*, 244 U. S., 590; *Truax v. Corrigan*, *supra*.

<sup>31</sup> *Hammer v. Dagenhart*.

<sup>32</sup> *Wilson v. New*, 243 U. S., 332.

<sup>33</sup> *Brown v. Feldman*, 256 U. S., 170.



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Chamber of the United States Supreme Court in the Capitol at Washington. It is in the central part of the building in the room formerly occupied by the Senate

States, and which, after the Civil War, preserved the States from destruction at the hands of an impatient Congress. It is a power which has held the mighty flow of State and Federal energies within the channels cut for them by the Constitution. Most significant of all, the influence of the Supreme Court has been a moral influence. Its dictates have been obeyed because our people are a legalistic people, and because the court has seldom allowed partisanship to mar its logic. As Senator Cass eloquently de-

clared in the Senate in 1855, "it is an impressive spectacle, almost a sublime one, to see nine men, all of them of mature age, and some of them in the extremity of human life, sitting here in the Supreme Court, establishing great principles, essential to private and to public prosperity, and to the duration of the Government, whose influence is felt through the whole union, and whose decrees are implicitly obeyed. It is the triumph of moral force. It is not the influence of the sword. \* \* \*



# FOR THE HEALTH OF THE WORLD

By JAMES A. TOBEY

Washington Representative of the National Health Council



JAMES A. TOBEY

*Facts concerning the organized health work of the world of today—Remarkable results achieved by the League of Nations, the Rockefeller Foundation, the League of Red Cross Societies, the International Office of Public Health, and other health bodies.*

THE population of the world is about 2,000,000,000. Of this number it is estimated that at least 70,000,000 persons are sick all of the time. About 35,000,000 die every year. Nearly as many people die every year in Europe as the number who lost their lives during the whole four years of the great World War. In the United States alone there are annually about one and a half million deaths.

These figures are significant enough, but when it is considered that about 9,000,000 of these deaths could be postponed and that about 28,000,000 of the sick are needlessly so, the statistics become appalling. Sanitary science has demonstrated that one-quarter of the deaths could be averted and at least 40 per cent. of sickness could be prevented by human endeavor. Writers have frequently accused the world of being politically ill. It is more than that, however; it is physically sick. Nevertheless, the world's health is improving, and the efforts which are achieving that improvement form an im-

portant chapter in the history of sanitary science.

What are the forces which are endeavoring to cope with this universal problem of disease? They are both official and voluntary. There are a number of international organizations, of which the League of Nations and the Office Internationale d'Hygiène Publique may be called official, and such agencies as the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation and the League of Red Cross Societies, which are voluntary, or extra-governmental. In addition to the international agencies are the national health departments of the various countries, the sanitary organizations of States and other political subdivisions and the national and local voluntary health societies, which supplement the work of the officials.

Of the seventy countries listed in The Statesman's Year Book, only about a dozen have independent Ministries of Health. In the remaining countries the national health work is carried on by a bureau in one of the Ministries, usually the Department of the Interior. The countries which have



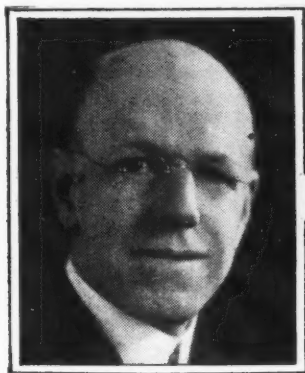
their own Ministers of Health are England and Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Canada, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; Brazil, Cuba and Santo Domingo. In the United States the Public Health Service is a bureau of the Treasury Department; various other bureaus, such as the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the Division of School Hygiene of the Bureau of Education and the Division of Vital Statistics of the Bureau of the Census, do health work. In all there are thirty-five bureaus or sections of the United States Government scattered through ten executive departments and several independent offices which deal, directly or indirectly, with some phase of public health.

Although each of these national health departments is supreme in sanitary matters within its own borders, disease is no respecter of boundaries, and so international effort is necessary. Disease is carried by individuals and sick persons, or those who have incipient disease continue to travel. Disease is also carried by insects, and no customs or immigration official, no matter how vigilant, can stop the stegomyia mosquito, which conveys yellow fever, or the brown rat, bearing the plague flea, from crossing from one nation to another. Once an epidemic starts, numerous countries, or a whole continent, may know its ravages before it has been checked. The Black Death of the fourteenth century went all over Europe

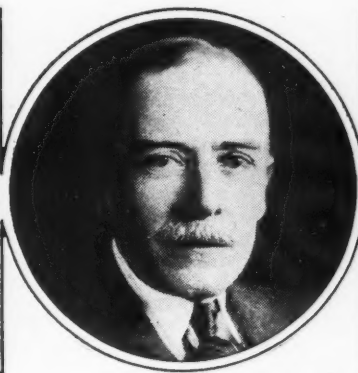
and carried off over 60,000,000 persons, one-quarter of the total population of the earth. The influenza epidemic of 1918 was world-wide in scope and caused an increase in many national death rates, which had been decreasing for a century. History is full of disastrous epidemics which have extended for years over great areas.

#### INTERNATIONAL HEALTH BODIES

Co-operation in international health work is now under way. A world-wide campaign against disease is beginning to emerge. Governments have entered into working agreements; scientific men are in constant communication; information is interchanged, and procedure is being standardized. Early in 1920 the League of Nations appointed a Health Committee, which has done valiant work since its inception. The committee was primarily organized to cope with a serious epidemic of typhus which, as a result of war conditions, was sweeping over Russia and Poland. Since the situation seemed to have gotten beyond local control, the Council of the League asked all interested Governments for funds and appointed an Epidemic Commission. Twenty-three Governments pledged money for this purpose. After a year's labor the League's agents were able to demonstrate a marked diminution in the epidemic. Cases of typhus were reduced from 157,000 in 1920 in Poland to 45,000 in 1921; they fell from 3,000,000 to 600,-



(Photo by Bachrach)



(Photo by Harris & Ewing)



At left: Dr. William F. Snow, General Director of the American Social Hygiene Association and Treasurer of the National Health Council. Centre: Dr. Livingston Farrand, President of Cornell, Chairman of the National Health Council and President of the American Hygiene Association. Right: Dr. Donald B. Armstrong, Executive Officer of the National Health Council and Secretary of the Common Service Committee

000 in Russia, and in Rumania from 45,555 to about 5,000.

Since the value of international effort against epidemics had been so successfully proved, the League established a permanent Health Section on Sept. 1, 1921. Dr. Rajchman, former Minister of Health of Poland, is director of this work. The first activity of the section has been the logical one of developing accurate statistics. An international reporting system has been set up, so that all Government health services are supplied with current information as to the health conditions of the world. Thus, when alarming conditions appear in one corner of Europe, for instance, other sections are immediately notified and adequate steps taken to prevent the spread of the epidemic.

The establishment of common standards for serums, vaccines and other biological products has been another notable achievement of the Health Section of the League of Nations. This action was decided upon in December, 1921, and progress has been made in standardizing the antitoxins for such diseases as diphtheria, tetanus, typhoid and dysentery, smallpox vaccine and the serum diagnosis of syphilis. The Hygienic Laboratory of the United States Public Health Service is in active co-operation with this work.

The attention of the League of Nations was first turned to the necessity of coping with disease by the League of Red Cross Societies. This latter league had been formed in April, 1919, largely through the efforts of the late Henry P. Davison. Its organization followed a notable medical conference held at Cannes, which was attended by the leading sanitarians of the world. Their opinion was unanimously expressed that the health of mankind is as essential in peace as in war, and that there could be no contentment or progress without it. Dr. R. P. Strong of Harvard was appointed General Medical Director. He was succeeded after a year by Dr. H. M. Biggs, Health Commissioner of New York, who in turn was succeeded by Professor C. E. A. Winslow of Yale. The present Director of Health is Dr. René Sand of Belgium.

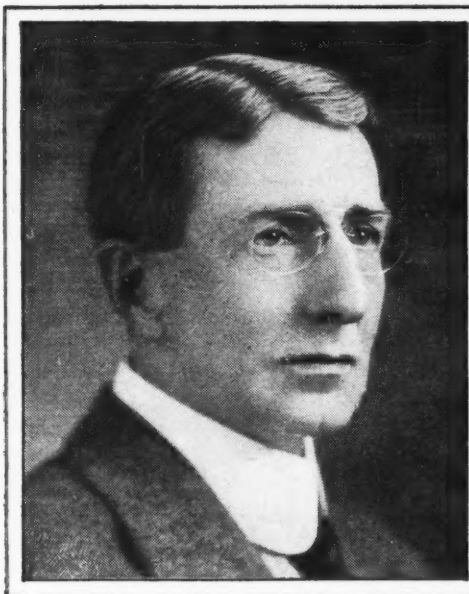
Early in 1919 the League of Red Cross

Societies drew the attention of their constituent members to the serious epidemic conditions in Eastern Europe and called for help to improve the situation. In August, 1919, the League appointed a commission, of which Surgeon General H. S. Cumming of the United States Public Health Service was a member, to investigate typhus fever and sanitary conditions in Poland. As a result of the report of this committee the League of Nations was asked to administer the work of putting down the epidemic. Later in 1920 Mr. Balfour, then President of the League of Nations, requested the League of Red Cross Societies to intervene in the Polish situation. Thus the two leagues worked in close co-operation in these matters.

#### WORK OF THE RED CROSS

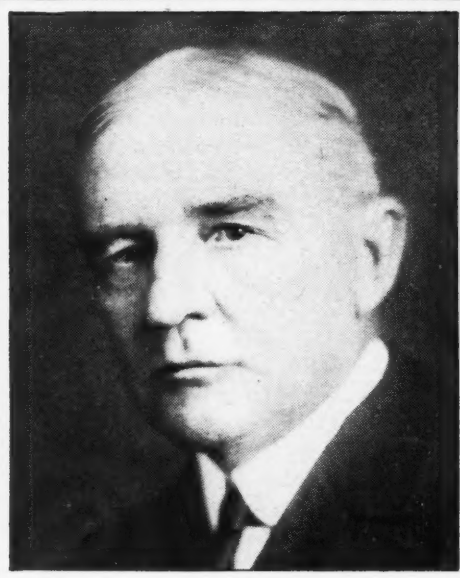
The accomplishments of the League of Red Cross Societies in the field of international public health have been many. Aside from its emergency work in epidemics the League has actively promoted public health nursing in many countries. Child welfare has been greatly developed; a strong campaign has been carried on against the red plague, the venereal diseases; various communicable diseases, such as malaria, have been fought; sanitary surveys have been made all over the world; and, finally, much valuable popular health instruction has been carried on. In order to develop effective methods in health, one of the aims of the League has been to stimulate the formation of national Red Cross societies. The ambition of the League is to awaken the hygienic conscience of all peoples, and the realization of this design seems well under way. At present the headquarters of the League is in Paris, having moved there from Geneva this year. The Director General is Sir Claude Hill and the Chairman of the Board of Governors is Judge John Barton Payne, head of the American Red Cross. The League issues a monthly review called *The World's Health*.

In describing activities of Red Cross societies, it is appropriate at this time to mention the European work of the American Red Cross. This has consisted of a child health program in the Baltic States,



(Photo by Moffett, Chicago)

**SURGEON GENERAL HUGH S. CUMMING,**  
Appointed in 1920, after a quarter of a century of distinguished service as sanitation expert in many countries



(Photo by Harris &amp; Ewing)

**JUDGE JOHN BARTON PAYNE,**  
Chairman of Central Committee of American Red Cross, succeeding Dr. Farrand, who was Secretary of the Interior under President Wilson

Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Montenegro, Serbia, Albania and Greece. The Medical Director has been Dr. A. C. Burnham, who has worked under the supervision of Colonel E. P. Bicknell, Red Cross Commissioner\* for Europe. The activities have included sanitation, housing, distribution of food for the undernourished and of clothing for the needy, schools for nurses and the establishment of about 500 baby welfare stations. This work was closed on June 30, 1922, though the Junior Red Cross plans to carry it on in the European field, principally by educational means. Thus, the torch of good health will continue to gleam for many war-stricken peoples, whose reconstruction means many tedious but inspiring years of effort.

Working in close co-operation with the League of Nations and the Red Cross Societies in international preventive medicine is to be found the Office Internationale d'Hygiène Publique in Paris. This organization was formed before the war and was the first governmental body of such a character in existence. During the war

its work was carried on by the Interallied Sanitary Commission among the allied nations. The International Office of Public Health was established by an international agreement signed in December, 1907. The powers included in the agreement were Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Denmark, France, Great Britain and her colonies, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands, Peru, Persia, Portugal, Russia, Serbia, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunis, Turkey, Uruguay and the United States.

The nations comprising the International Office of Public Health contracted to maintain an office in Paris, the principal purpose of which was to acquaint the interested countries with disease conditions, particularly with reference to cholera, plague and yellow fever. The respective Governments were to apprise the office of measures taken to overcome these diseases, while the office was to suggest co-ordinative measures. The director of the office is Professor Rocco Santoliquido, who is also counselor to the League of Red Cross

Societies. The office issues a monthly magazine, the *Revue d'Hygiène*.

#### INTERNATIONAL HEALTH BOARD

The map of the world would be thoroughly dotted with gold stars if each represented a locality where the International Health Board carries on operations. The International Health Board is financed by the Rockefeller Foundation of the United States, which has an endowment of about \$175,000,000. The International Health Board was formed in 1909 under the name of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, and during the thirteen years of its existence has probably done more to increase the vitality of the world than any other one agency. The President of the Rockefeller Foundation is George E. Vincent and the Director of the International Health Board is Wickliffe Rose.

Education and training are foundations for the successful application of any scientific knowledge. This axiom applies to public health as well as to any other science, and so the Rockefeller Foundation has expended great sums for this purpose. As early as 1916 the Foundation supplied funds for a School of Hygiene and Public Health at Johns Hopkins University. This school began operations in 1918 under the leadership of Dr. William H. Welch and has trained many sanitarians. More recently, a grant of \$2,000,000 has been made to Harvard for a new school of public health to continue the former School for Health Officers maintained jointly for several years by Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A medical school in Peking, China, is supported by the Foundation, as are also twenty-five medical centres in that country; the medical school of Columbia has been promised a million dollars; three and a half millions have been appropriated to rebuild and reorganize the medical school and hospital of the Free University of Brussels; one hundred and fifty-seven fellowships in hygiene, medicine, physics and chemistry were provided in 1921 to representatives of eighteen countries, and other contributions have been made for public health training in Czechoslovakia, Brazil and the United States.

Four diseases in particular have been attacked by the International Health Board. They are hookworm, yellow fever, malaria and tuberculosis. The campaign against hookworm was begun in 1910 in Virginia, in co-operation with the State Board of Health. The work soon spread to many other Southern States, where this disease was prevalent, and eventually aid against hookworm was given to eighteen different countries in South and Central America, the West Indies, India, Ceylon, Borneo, Siam and Australia. In a little over a decade remarkable results have been obtained. In one county in Virginia 82.6 per cent. of the school children were infected in 1910. In 1911 this rate had fallen to 35.2 per cent., and in 1921 to only 2.2 per cent. Results are equally gratifying elsewhere.

Yellow fever and malaria are each borne by mosquitos, the former by the *stegomyia* and the latter by the *anopheles* species. This fact was established by the American Army Medical Commission in Cuba in 1900-1901 under Major Walter Reed. General W. C. Gorgas freed Havana of yellow fever by anti-mosquito measures and later made possible the building of the Panama Canal by ridding the Isthmus of this dread scourge. In 1916 the International Health Board sent General Gorgas to South and Central America at the head of a commission to investigate the possibility of the final elimination of yellow fever from its endemic centres. In 1918 work was undertaken by the board in Central America, and in 1921 Mexico entered the campaign. Though the disease has not been entirely extirpated, great progress has been made, and many of the countries that have always been sources of infection no longer see the fatal fever at all.

Malaria has been attacked in our own country since 1915 by the International Health Board, working in co-operation with the United States Public Health Service, the State health departments and local authorities. The object of the work is to demonstrate to the community that it can itself adequately handle the situation at a low cost and at a great economic saving by maintaining health. Naturally, the



methods used are to rid the locality of the breeding places of the mosquito—pools of water and sluggish streams. During 1921 new demonstrations in twenty-six localities in nine of our Southern States were commenced, while previous work was continued in thirty-five other localities in ten States. In addition, measures have been started in Porto Rico, Nicaragua and the Argentine. As in the case of yellow fever, notable progress has been made, and the work is gradually being turned over to local control.

The tuberculosis campaign of the International Health Board was carried on in France from 1917 until June 30, 1921. Dr. Livingston Farrand, now President of Cornell, was in charge of this work during the war. About \$2,000,000 was spent upon this French campaign, which has lately been transferred to the Ministry of Hygiène and the Comité National. It is the policy of the board to demonstrate the value of its health work, so that official bodies will be induced to take it over and continue it. The hookworm campaign in the South has now expanded into rural health service, with full-time county health officers, a responsibility which is being in part and will eventually be entirely assumed by the local authorities. Similar rural measures are in force in Brazil with the assistance of the International Health Board.

#### INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

There are several other organizations of world-wide scope which are interested in health. The International Labor Office has developed standards for industrial hygiene. This office is located at Geneva, Switzerland. The American Relief Administration has contributed to the nourishment, and hence to the health, of many millions. Then, there are the International Union for Combating Tuberculosis, the Association Internationale pour la Protection de l'Enfance, a child welfare society, and an International Institute of Statistics. A number of other international scientific societies hold conventions to discuss various phases of public health. An international conference on open-air schools was held in Paris in June. In the

Americas there is an International Sanitary Bureau, of which Dr. Pablo Garcia Medina of Colombia is Honorary Director and Surgeon General H. S. Cumming of the United States Public Health Service Director. Various Pan-American conferences are held from time to time.

As a supplement to the official health departments in the nations there have grown up numerous voluntary health societies. To be sure, public health is and must be primarily a governmental responsibility, but an interested public is necessary, and that interest is manifested through extra-governmental societies. In the United States, for instance, it has been estimated that there are almost two hundred national social welfare associations which have some sort of a health program. With most of them health is only an incident in the broad activities of the society. Such an organization as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, for instance, has an important health committee, though the general scope of this federation is not in the field of public health. The American Public Health Association, on the other hand, is organized solely for the purpose of promoting the health of the people. There are about a score of similar national agencies in this country, the major function of which is to deal with some branch of health work. Similar societies exist in many other countries.

Co-operation among these voluntary agencies has long been urged by leading sanitarians. In December, 1920, therefore, a National Health Council was formed in the United States at a meeting held in Washington, D. C. The members of this council included the following organizations: The American Public Health Association, the American Red Cross, the American Social Hygiene Association, the American Society for the Control of Cancer, the Conference of State and Provincial Health Authorities of North America, the Council on Health and Public Instruction of the American Medical Association, the National Child Health Council, which includes also the American Child Hygiene Association, the National Child Labor Committee and the Child Health Organization of America; the National Commit-

tee for Mental Hygiene, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, the National Tuberculosis Association and the United States Public Health Service as conference member.

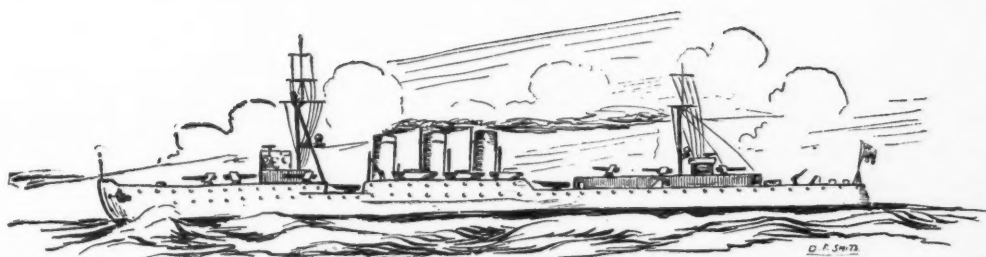
#### NATIONAL HEALTH COUNCIL

The object of the National Health Council is to co-ordinate the health work of these fourteen independent societies, so that duplication will be prevented and efficiency secured. Offices are maintained in Washington, D. C., and in New York City. The activities of the former office have consisted in the publication of bi-weekly bulletins on both national and State health legislation. Thus, there is offered for the first time in the history of public health in this country prompt, accurate and impartial reports of pending health legislation. This office has also issued a number of pamphlets describing the various bureaus of the Government which deal with public health, and has co-operated with officials in numerous ways. In New York the headquarters of over twenty health agencies have been brought together in one building, thus reducing expenses by providing many common services and enhancing opportunities for co-operation and united effort. The Chairman of this council is Dr. Livingston Farrand and the Executive Officer is Dr. D. B. Armstrong.

An institution similar to the National Health Council was formed in the Spring of 1920 in Czechoslovakia and is known as the Council of Social Hygiene. It includes in its membership the Red Cross, the Temperance League, the Society for the Protection of Mothers and Infants, the Child Welfare Society, the Commission for the Protection of Youth, the Society for the Education and Cure of Invalids and the Czech Society for Combating Venereal Diseases. Even China has created a National Health Association, and a number of other countries, believing that co-operative effort produces the best results, are forming or have formed councils of health.

To improve the health of the world is a big task. That it can be done has been shown by results in single nations. One of the healthiest countries is New Zealand. There the expectancy of life is about 60 years, whereas in Germany in 1910 it was about 45 years. In the United States and in England it is about the same as in Germany, while in India it is less than 25 years. As death rates decrease the expectancy of life increases. It has been estimated that at least fifteen years could be added to the average length of life by means of sanitary measures scientifically applied. Public health has been defined by Professor C. E. A. Winslow of Yale as "the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life and promoting physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infections, the education of the individual in principles of personal hygiene, the organization of medical and nursing service for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease and the development of the social machinery which will insure to every individual in the community a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health."

World sanitation is indeed a twentieth century possibility. War, famine and pestilence have been the great scourges which have turned back civilization in the past. This is an age of power, one of golden opportunity. A sentiment against future wars has definitely crystallized; an equal determination to eradicate disease must be fostered. Since the dawn of preventive medicine in the nineteenth century, following the memorable discovery of Pasteur, the achievements of sanitary science have been dazzling in their splendor. It is the future which will see the full light of their glory, however, and history will write in imperishable words these three accomplishments for the hygiene of the world. For as health progresses, so also will civilization go forward.



Japanese cruiser Kitagami, tenth of the modern cruisers built for the Japanese Navy. She has a displacement of 5,600 tons, has a speed of 33 knots and carries seven 5.5-inch and three 3-inch anti-aircraft guns. Her torpedo armament consists of eight 21-inch torpedo tubes. She has a complement of about 450 officers and men

## RENEWAL OF NAVAL COMPETITION

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

*Failure of the treaties concluded at Washington to cut naval expenditure or to stop competition between the nations—The naval programs of five nations compared—The cruiser problem*

THE treaties of the Arms Conference have not cut the naval expenditures of the great nations below normal, and they have failed to stop naval competition. Never before, in an approximate peace period, has the world spent so much on naval armaments, not even during the year preceding the great war, when armament building was extremely heavy.

A study of the budgets of the nations reveals an increase of from 90 to 372 per cent. over 1914's naval appropriations.

France was at work on twelve great capital ships and smaller craft when the war started. Though only three of them have been completed so far, the money spent on construction was actually more than was spent for the same purpose in the

United States during the same year. This year French naval expenditure is 90 per cent. greater than in 1914.

Eleven great battleships, a single large battle cruiser, numerous fast cruisers, destroyers and submarines were under construction in England in 1914. America was spending about half as much as the British at that time. But this year Great Britain is spending 181 per cent. more than in 1914.

In Japan, the Fuso class of battleships and the Kongo class of battle cruisers were in the course of construction eight years ago, at the outbreak of the war. The expenditure involved was about equal to that of the United States during the same year, but there were only six capital ships and a few destroyers in construction in our yards. Japan's present expenditure, however, exceeds the 1914 total by about

290 per cent. During 1914 Spain was fairly active along naval lines. Three rather doubtful capital ships were under construction, but proceeding slowly. This year Spain is spending 275 per cent. more than she was then, a comparatively greater amount than she has since the formation of the Great Armada in 1586.

Compared to her 1914 expenditure, Italy is spending more than any other nation. About 372 per cent. of the amount used that year has been provided for the Italian Navy for this year. Italy was doing very little in 1914, however, and the actual sum being spent at present is considerably less than the amount being spent by France, Great Britain, the United States or Japan.

Advices from England report that Argentina is laying down some new 820-ton submarines under the direction of former German naval constructors. It is stated that the materials are to be purchased in Germany. Though this information has been carried in three reputable publications, it should be accepted with reserve, as it has not been officially confirmed.

Chile has been laying aside a sum of money each year for the construction of one capital ship and smaller vessels. According to press reports, this sum is almost ready to be expended.

#### AMERICA'S NAVAL STATUS TODAY

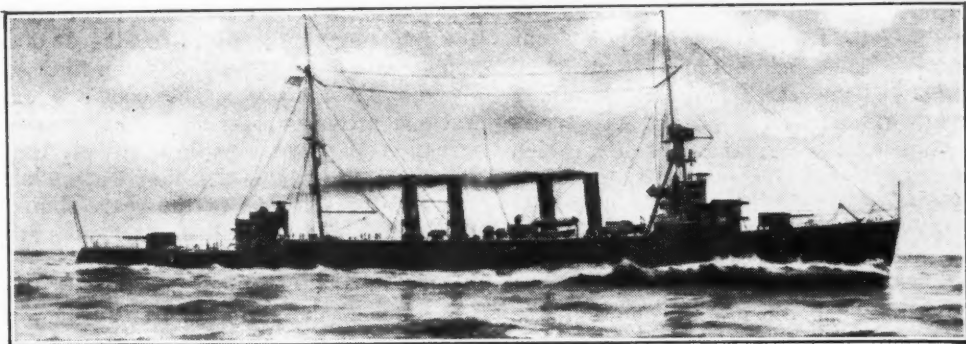
America's expenditure for her navy this fiscal year is 174 per cent. more than it was in 1914. This statement, however, is entirely misleading. It must be remembered that in 1914 our naval program was so totally inadequate to the situation we were facing that it called forth the great preparedness rally of 1915 and 1916. At that time we were falling behind the rest of the world. Germany had supplanted us as the second naval power, and both France and Japan were threatening to surpass us with their great programs. We must also remember that this figure of 174 per cent. includes \$70,000,000 which we are spending to cancel the contracts for the ships which we must scrap under the Arms Conference agreement. If this item is removed the figure becomes greatly reduced.

Let us consider it differently. The powers, with the single exception of the United States, realized in 1914 that they were confronted with a terrific war. America was not brought to this realization until 1916. Therefore, in consideration of the fact that 1914 was the last prewar year of the other nations, the American naval appropriation for this year should be considered in the light of her last prewar or 1916 appropriation. We are spending less this year than we spent in 1916, that is, spending less today than in our last prewar year, while the other nations are spending from 90 to 372 per cent. more.

These facts tend to prove that our 1922-1923 naval appropriation bill is totally inadequate for our needs, as some of our more courageous naval men have stated. The purpose of America's naval construction expenditure for this fiscal year is to complete various ships of the old 1916 program. The battleships West Virginia and Colorado, of 32,600 tons, 21 knots and carrying eight 16-inch guns, will be carried to completion slowly. Because of the meagre appropriations for this work it is doubtful if they will be completed next year. In this connection we should remember that we are completing these ships because of the retention of the Mutsu by Japan, and that the Mutsu has been complete and in service for the period of over a year.

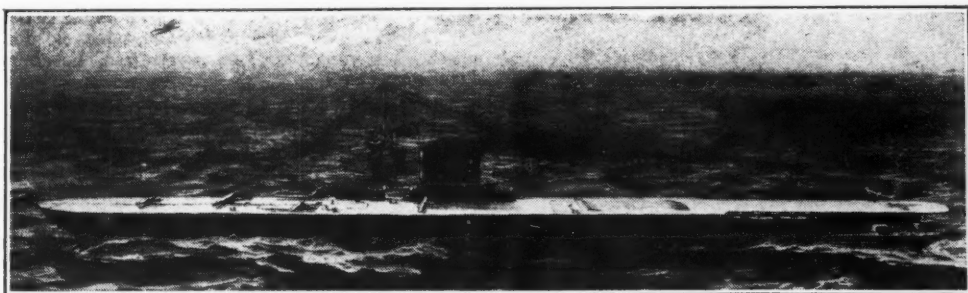
However, our capital-ship ratio is being maintained materially. In actual fact, however, though we have the requisite number of ships, they are entirely undermanned because of the smallness of the personnel appropriations. The figures show that we are spending nearly twice as much for personnel as any other nation, except England, but we pay our enlisted men from two to ten times as much as any other nation. "Men fight, not ships." Without men a ship cannot be operated; without enough men a ship cannot be operated efficiently. Because of this, it is to be seen that our ratio in actual sea power of five to five for England, three for Japan and one and three-quarters for France and Italy, is not being maintained. To express it in terms of the number of men in service in the various navies: During this year England



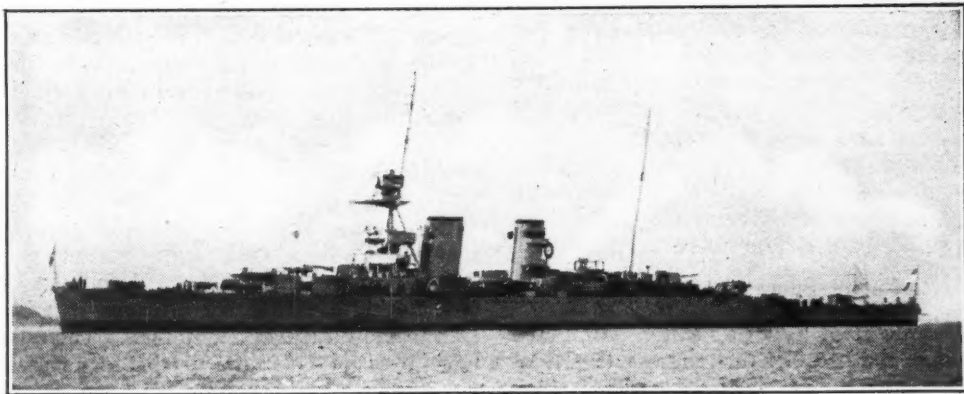


(United States Navy Official Photo)

America's first scout carrier, the Omaha, with the almost unprecedented speed of 34 knots an hour. She has a length of 350 feet, a tonnage of 7,500 and carries twelve 50-calibre 6-inch guns



Proposed reconstruction of the United States cruiser Saratoga into one of the largest airplane carriers in the world. It will measure 750 feet in length and is equipped to carry fifty scouting planes



(© Harris & Ewing)

H. M. S. Hawkins, flagship of the British China squadron. She displaces 10,000 tons, has a speed of 32 knots and carries a battery of seven 7.5-inch guns. She is larger than any ship of her class built, building or projected for our navy

will have from 115,000 to 105,000 men in her service. Therefore, to maintain our parity with her, we should have an equal number. This year Japan is maintaining a navy of about 77,000 men. To maintain our ratio advantage over her, which was dearly bought by our delegates to the conference, we should have five-thirds of this number, or 128,333 men. But Congress has allowed us only 86,000 men for this year.

Two of the battle cruisers, now on the stocks and one-third complete, which as battle cruisers would have been scrapped under the terms of the navy treaty, may be transformed to aircraft carriers and retained, thus saving the amount already spent on them. Though this change was opposed in Congress, sufficient funds were appropriated to make plans for the work.

The ten scout cruisers authorized in 1916 will be continued, but, according to the latest "progress report" of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, only six will be completed in 1923 and the others probably not until the year following. At present there is not a single modern scout cruiser in our navy; only these ten ships are building and no further vessels are authorized. Contrast this with the fifty existing vessels in the British Navy, plus four others completing and further ships under consideration. Contrast it with the thirteen vessels already in the Japanese Navy and the fifteen vessels under construction or planned. In cruisers it is to be seen that instead of maintaining our five ratio we have dropped to a one ratio, as against five for Great Britain and three for Japan. And even this one ratio will not exist until those ten cruisers have been completed in one or two years. In addition to these ships we will continue work on a score or more submarines, three destroyers and a few auxiliary vessels.

#### GREAT BRITAIN'S PROGRAM

Despite the reports being circulated through the press of this country that England will not build the two capital ships conceded her in the naval treaty as an offset to the retention of the Mutsu by Japan, I can state on the very highest authority that they will be built. My informant states that the delay experienced

was caused by the difficulties involved in the reducing of the plans for the 44,000-ton super-Hoods to the 35,000-ton limit set by the naval treaty. The contracts for various materials to be used in the construction of these ships have already been let, and it is possible that they will be laid down before the end of the year. Though the British Admiralty has given out nothing on the design of the ships, owing, no doubt, to the continual shifting of the plans during the period of transformation, my information states that the general features will conform to the following description:

DISPLACEMENT: 35,000 tons at the standard load.  
SPEED: At the normal draft, 27 knots.

MACHINERY: Geared turbines supplied by oil-burning boilers. Shaft horsepower about 110,000 for 27 knots. Cruising radius will be about 10,000 sea miles at 10 knots and 6,000 miles at full speed. The maximum fuel carried will be about 4,000 tons of oil only.

ARMAMENT: Main battery—eight 16-inch guns, about 45 calibres long, arranged in four turrets on the centre line of the ships, as in H. M. S. Hood or the U. S. S. Maryland. Secondary battery—twelve or more 5.5 or 6 inch guns on the beams of the ships in high and dry positions. A large number of anti-aircraft guns will be carried, together with eight or more 21-inch deck torpedo tubes.

PROTECTION: Heavy internal armor coupled with the anti-torpedo internal-external bulge. Belt and turret armor comparable to H. M. S. Hood.

In addition to these vessels, the British are completing four cruisers, two of which, the Frobisher and Effingham, will be of the largest size permitted under the naval treaty. The destroyers, flotilla leaders and submarines still uncompleted will be finished and a new mine layer and a single submarine laid down.

In this there is food for reflection. England has cruisers which, in our navy, would be considered quite modern ones. But she is scrapping them, and building entirely new ships. According to the various British service publications the Admiralty is considering even further cruisers, in addition to those already mentioned. The only conclusion to be drawn is that expense is not the thing at stake. England wants new and ultra-modern ships, and is willing to spend the money to build them.

France will lay down three new cruisers very shortly. They are the Duguay-Trouin, Lamotte-Piquet and Primaguet.

They will displace 8,000 tons, as against the 7,500 tons for the American cruisers now building. The speeds will be about 36 knots, and the vessels will carry eight 6.2 inch guns of a new model. Here again we have proof that it is not the expense that counts. France received four fast cruisers from Germany and one from Austria as reparation for her war losses. Then, again, France is laying up or scrapping her older cruisers and small "Avisos," so that the old excuse of "maintaining communications" cannot be given.

Six flotilla leaders of 2,500 tons, to have speeds of 36 knots, will also be built. France has at present forty-three destroyers and one flotilla leader. These new boats are obviously necessary because every destroyer flotilla needs a head, or a leader. The staffs of the officers commanding flotillas cannot be carried in addition to the regular complement aboard a destroyer. Yet America has over 300 destroyers and not a single flotilla leader. Certainly American destroyer flotillas should have leaders, or heads, as well as the French. Congress, however, has decided that America cannot afford to have flotilla leaders, even though France can. As a result the Navy Department is forced to use old, slow, coal-eating armored cruisers, like the Rochester, as flagships for our destroyer forces. The Rochester is the New York of Spanish War fame. She is a relatively big vessel of 8,150 tons, necessitating a crew of 648 officers and men, and a very large amount of fuel. If we had a modern flotilla leader to replace her only a quarter of her complement would be used, and the fuel bill would be cut by more than half. In addition to this, the efficiency of the destroyer forces would be raised considerably, for the fast flotilla leaders would be able to keep up with the 35-knot destroyers, whereas at present they run away from the old 21-knot Rochester. If Congress would give us flotilla leaders, their cost could be saved within a few years and our navy would be more efficient.

France is also to lay down twelve new 1,400 ton destroyers. In this connection it is well to remember that none of our destroyers is of more than 1,215 tons. France will also build six oceangoing and

six coastal submarines. The Bearn, one of the five vessels of the improved Lorraine class of battleships, is to be transformed into an aircraft carrier. The other four battleships of her class are to be scrapped, though this decision was arrived at a year before the calling of the Washington Conference. It is also possible that some auxiliary vessels will be added to the French Navy during the coming year.

Italy is laying down two new cruisers of 8,000 tons, approximating the new French ships. Three flotilla leaders of 2,200 tons are under construction, as are six destroyers and some smaller craft. Four new destroyers and four "seagoing" submarines are also to be laid down soon.

Spain's program consists of the completion of the cruiser Reina Victoria Eugenia, the transformation of a liner to an aircraft carrier, the laying down of two new 8,000 ton cruisers to be named Augusta Victoria and Almirante Cervera, and five 1,700 ton flotilla leaders. Further than this, some gunboats and auxiliaries are planned.

Though it is impossible to estimate the exact percentage of the increase of the current Russian naval expenditure as over that of 1914, it is known that the Soviet gold budget provides for a large naval appropriation. It is said that 22 per cent. of this budget is for the navy, in contrast to 12 per cent. under the old Czarist régime in 1914. The work under consideration is the refitting of all useful ships for sea duty and the completion of those vessels left unfinished by the revolution. If this ambitious scheme is carried out under the guidance of some of the technical experts of the old German Navy, as has been suggested, the Russians will within a few years be possessed of a fleet of 300,000 tons in capital ships of fairly modern types; about an equal tonnage with Japan, and nearly twice the tonnage of France under the naval treaty limitations. The suggestion of this in the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies has done more to delay action on the ratification of the Washington treaties than anything else.

#### JAPAN'S CRUISER PROGRAM

Japan is building no capital ships, as she already possesses her full quota under

the naval treaty. However, two of the six capital ships prescribed by the naval treaty are to be transformed to aircraft carriers. They are the battle cruisers Akagi and Amagi. Another aircraft carrier—the Hosho, a vessel of about 10,000 tons—is being completed.

Japan's greatest expense, however, will be for cruisers. It is understood that no less than fifteen vessels are under construction or planned. Four vessels, according to a recent official announcement of the Tokio Admiralty, will be of the extreme size permitted under the treaty—10,000 tons. Four others will approximate the new American cruisers, displacing 7,500 tons; three further vessels will displace from 5,700 to 6,000 tons, and the four further ships are reported variously as semi-flotilla leaders of 3,500 tons and larger. According to the Admiralty announcement, twenty-four entirely new 1,375-ton destroyers are to be built; and it is assumed that they are in addition to the twenty-odd vessels on the stocks at present. It was also announced that Japan would build twenty-six entirely new submarines to have an aggregate tonnage of 28,166. As in the case of the destroyers, it is assumed that these vessels are in addition to the twenty-odd ships under construction at present.

A number of large and small gunboats are also under construction, as are several large depot and auxiliary ships. No information is available as to the new program for these types, but it may be assumed as being proportionate to the new construction in battle types. For instance, the largest American submarine depots are capable of caring for eight of the 900-ton S class submarines.

This shows that Japan intends to maintain fully her established treaty ratio. As Great Britain has more than fifty cruisers of modern types, Japan is entitled to 60 per cent. of that number, or approximately thirty ships. As there are but thirteen modern cruisers in the Japanese Navy, more must be and are being built. How different is this from the situation which confronts the United States Navy!

Sweden is contemplating a fairly large program of cruisers and destroyers. A

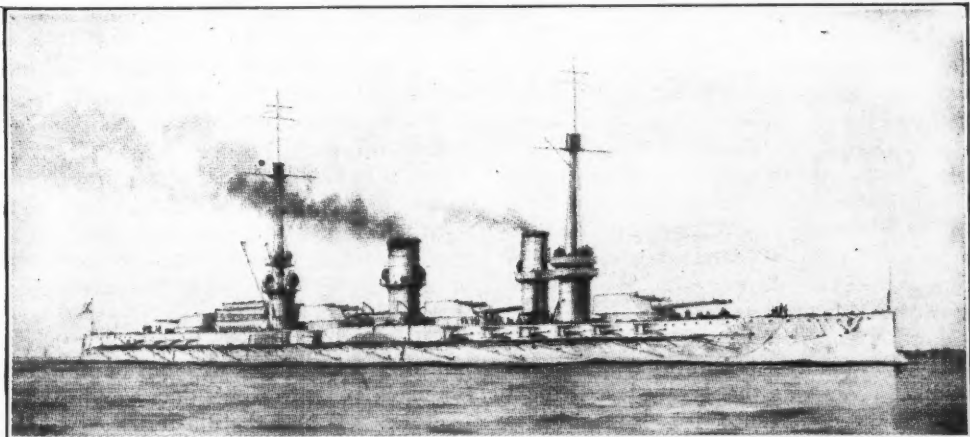
short time ago an official commission was charged with the study of the needs of the national defense. It has recommended the construction of two 30-knot cruisers to carry 8.2 inch guns, plus twelve destroyers, six first-class submarines, three mine-laying submarines, twenty-two submarine chasers, twelve motor torpedo boats, six vedette boats and a quantity of naval aircraft. To those familiar with the attitude of the Swedish Diet on matters of defense, the first thought is that this program will never become a reality, owing to the never-ending efforts of that body for economy. However, the Swedish people must be considered. We remember that the largest ship in the Swedish Navy today—the Sverige—was built by popular subscription when the Government failed to provide the necessary funds. Sweden recently avoided war with various Baltic States and Soviet Russia by a very narrow margin, and it is conceivable that the people will demand a proper defense against future possibilities.

Even little Holland is preparing her defenses. She realizes that she has been removed from her friends by the blundering Article XIX. of the naval treaty, which robs both England and the United States of the right to defend their interests in Asia, and in so doing throws little Holland's greatest possessions, the Dutch East Indies, open to attack and capture.

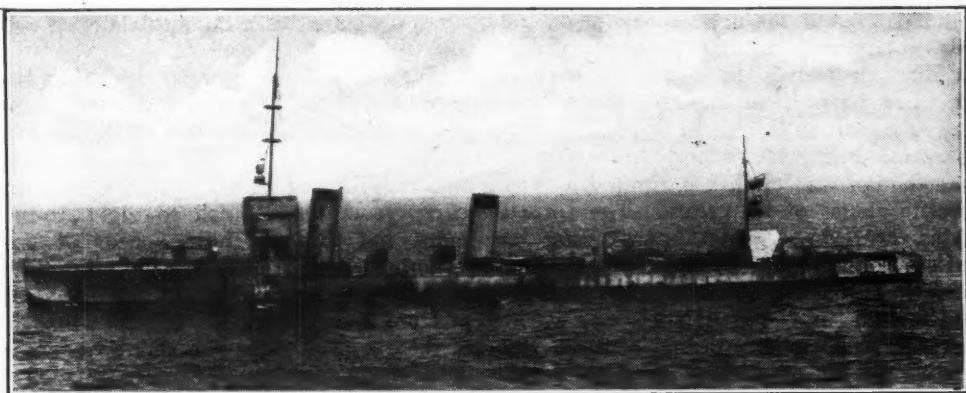
#### BALANCE OF NAVAL POWER

As previously stated, this tremendous naval expansion and consequent expenditure of the various nations is entirely within the agreements reached at Washington in the naval treaty. Though it may seem that the aims of the treaty have not been accomplished, every one should realize that the scrapping of battleships and the placing of certain limitations on various types do not in the least mitigate the necessity for adequate defense on the part of any nation. As all branches of science progress, so does the science of naval warfare. A battleship is in effect but an accumulation of the best scientific means that can be used for defense. That is why nations want new and modern ships

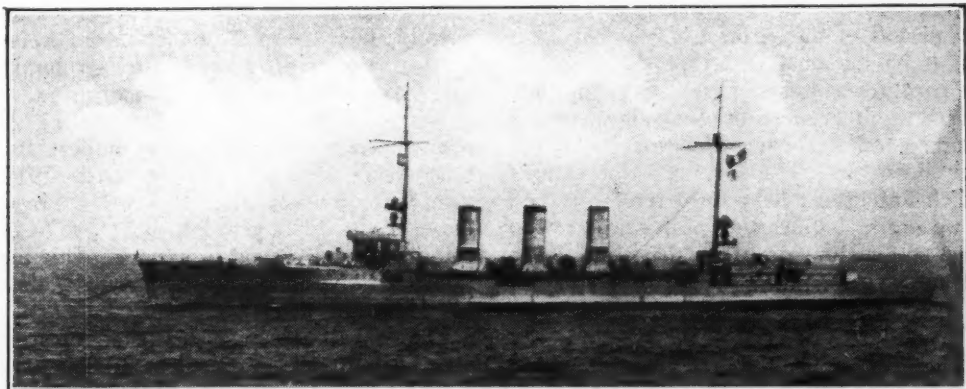




Russian battleship *Pariskaya Kommuna*, one of the vessels forming the backbone of the present Soviet Navy. She is of 24,000 tons displacement, has a speed of 23 knots and carries a main battery of twelve 12-inch guns



French flotilla leader *Admiral Senes*, formerly of the German Navy. She has 2,200 tons displacement, a speed of 32 knots and carries a complement of 150 officers and men



Former German cruiser *Strasbourg* allotted to France to replace vessel lost in war. She is nearly identical with the *Frankfurt*, allotted to the United States and sunk during bombing tests in 1921

instead of old ones. The dictates of common sense demand that nations keep pace with one another. If one nation falls behind, it disturbs the balance of naval power in the world and opens that nation to attack from one quarter or another.

It was the appreciation of that fact that forced our delegates to consider the limitation and reduction of international armaments on a relative scale. The result was that they established a world policy of naval strength and wrote it into the naval treaty. It is the 5-5-3 ratio, which definitely sets the relative naval needs of all nations. This was the greatest settlement made at the conference, for it establishes the world balance of naval power to an extent, insuring every nation against attack and, consequently, against war.

So long as this ratio is maintained by the world, the chances of war can be discounted. But if the nations violate it, the only conclusion is that they are either opening themselves to attack or preparing for an attack on others. The fact is that no nation in the world is overbuilding its established ratio in any class or type, even though cruisers are unlimited by any specific clause of the treaty. The United States, however, by not maintaining its ratio in either ships or men, is violating the ratio agreement by disturbing the naval equilibrium and the balance of world power. And underbuilding disturbs the relative power of nations to exactly the same degree as does overbuilding.

The present situation proves that the much-heralded "naval holiday" of ten years has not materialized, despite the assuring advices from Washington during the period of the Arms Conference. Nor can it be demonstrated that the scope of the conference was not great enough. Senator Borah's arguments along this line are entirely futile, because the world will not tear down its defenses until the causes which built them have been removed. And if we are to believe the philosophers who have studied the problem, that time is far distant.

#### THE PRESENT SITUATION

The conference limited capital ships (modern battleships and battle cruisers) and aircraft carriers in both size and num-

ber. It also limited the conditions of their replacement. In doing this a limitation of naval aircraft was effected. A certain number of aircraft carriers can carry only a certain number of planes. As this cannot be disputed, we are able to draw the conclusion that only a certain number of planes can be taken to sea with the fleets, as battleships can carry only one or two small scouting planes. As the perfection of giant planes, capable of maintaining themselves at sea for months, or even years, has not been effected, and it is certain that such planes will not be perfected for many years to come, then warships control the seas and their arteries of traffic. The plane can sink an old non-resisting and motionless battleship, if you like, but it cannot go to sea and stay at sea. Therefore we should be careful not to place our faith in false gods. Germany depended upon the submarine, but surface craft were able to destroy its menace.

There is also a sentiment prevalent that the capital ship is the only thing that counts today. At present America possesses eighteen capital ships. These vessels range from 20,000 to 32,600 tons and carry from ten 12-inch to eight 16-inch guns, but they all have speeds of only 21 knots. Other nations have battle cruisers carrying heavy guns and having speeds of from 27 to 31 knots. The idea that one of these capital ships can sink any number of cruisers and smaller craft is without foundation. True enough, the big ships have the latent power to sink such lighter craft, but how can a 21-knot American capital ship catch a 33-knot British, French, Italian, Spanish or Japanese cruiser? Conversely, how could 27 to 31 knot foreign battle cruisers or 23-knot foreign battleships catch 33-knot American cruisers?

America has been utterly lacking in proper cruisers ever since the modern fast types were evolved. Never, until 1916, would Congress give us the vessels. Even those of the 1916 program have yet to be completed and placed in service. Our unfamiliarity with the type, however, does not reduce its value.

The naval treaty states that cruisers may be built to the extent of 10,000 tons, but these vessels must not carry greater than eight-inch guns. These limits are

very broad. A 10,000-ton ship can stay at sea indefinitely, and on this basis a speed of thirty-seven knots can be given to the ship. Eight-inch guns are large and powerful weapons. They can be built with the maximum visibility as the limit of range.

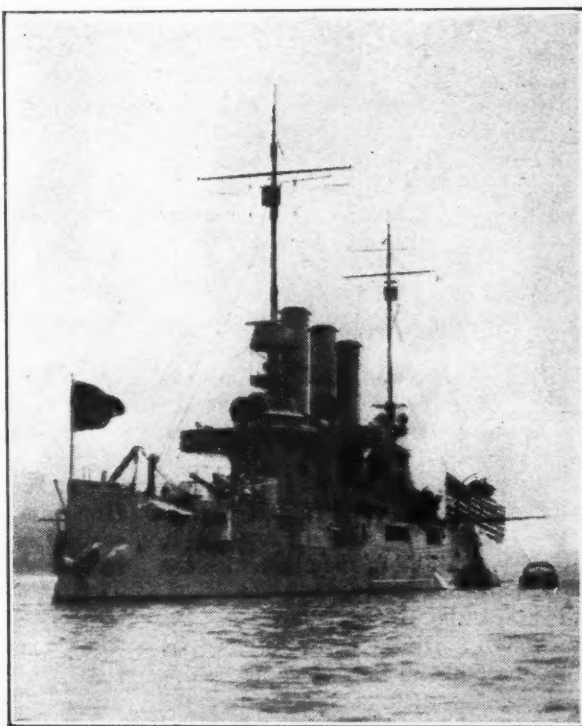
Already the British have vessels of this kind in the Hawkins type of 10,000 tons, thirty-one knots, carrying seven 7.5-inch guns, which are said to have the maximum visibility as their range. Japan is building four such vessels, and Congress should see to it that America, with its tremendous coastlines, shall have similar vessels, and that they shall not be inferior in number or quality to the foreign types.

The usual excuse given for the present intensive building of cruisers is that the fault will be remedied at the next conference. The next conference is to be held within eight years. At the last conference it was possible to limit armaments on the ratio of the existing strength among nations; and this is the only way that armaments will ever be limited, because it presents the only scientific solution to the

problem of means. The conditions surrounding the last conference, however, were exceptional. The nations of the world were wounded and bleeding; they were bending under the heavy load of debts caused by the most destructive war in the history of the world. Furthermore, they were at peace with each other, with no serious clouds in the offing that could not be dispelled by fair dealing. The circumstances were just right for a limitation of armaments. It was the most auspicious time the world has known for an attempt at complete idealistic disarmament, yet the nations did not succeed in ending naval competition.

The next conference will see the nations of the world with their wounds nearly healed and their burdens of debt materially lightened. It is said that no ten-year period in the history of civilization has been without its international problems calling for a recourse to arms. Meanwhile America cannot afford to carry out a disarmament scheme without the other nations of the world. Yet that is exactly what Congress is forcing upon the United

U. S. S. Rochester,  
formerly the New  
York of Santiago  
fame. She has a dis-  
placement of 8,500  
tons. She is now serv-  
ing as flagship of the  
destroyer force of the  
Atlantic Fleet



States. While we attempt no new construction, every nation in the world adds to its naval forces. Congress reduces even our naval personnel far below its relative proportion to that of other powers.

Perhaps the nations will reconsider their naval expansion. At least we may hope for the best. But hoping for the best does not excuse laxity on our own part. As our Secretary of the Navy has said: "Whatever armed forces have cost us, they have made us and kept us a nation."

Though the Naval Treaty has admittedly

changed the tactics of future wars, just as it has changed the nomenclature of the weapons to fight them, it has not changed, nor can it change, human nature. "Men fight, not ships." Well ordered thought and a general understanding of the new conditions is necessary to bring out the vitally essential solutions of our naval and foreign problems; for so long as war remains the ultimate court of appeal, we who love peace with justice must see to it that we are ready to take our claims to that court and receive a satisfactory judgment.

### SEA POWER UNDER THE NAVAL TREATY

THE Bureau of Naval Intelligence at Washington has prepared a tabulated statement showing the relative sea power of the five leading naval nations as they will stand at the outset of the naval holiday provided for by the Arms Conference Treaty. It deals with ships actually retained by the navies of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy on June 1, 1922, excluding those to be scrapped. Under the treaty Great Britain is to scrap twenty old capital ships, having an aggregate tonnage of 408,500, but will scrap no ships under construction. The United States will scrap twenty-eight ships, having an aggregate tonnage of 780,340, of which fifteen are old capital ships with a tonnage of 227,740 and thirteen are capital ships under construction with a tonnage of 552,600. Japan will scrap ten old capital ships with a tonnage of 164,000 and six capital ships under construction of 255,800 tons, making sixteen capital ships of 419,800 tons to be disposed of by that power. France and Italy will scrap no capital ships whatever. After the scrapping of these vessels the navies of Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France and Italy will be approximately in the ratio of 5-5-3-1.75-1.75; when the replacement program is carried out the navies will have a strength in capital ships absolutely identical with the ratio fixed by the treaty.

Analysis of the figures shows that the 580,450 tons of capital ships retained by England, the 500,650 tons of capital ships retained by the United States and the 301,320 tons of capital ships retained by

Japan on June 1, excluding those to be scrapped, are virtually in the ratio of 5-5-3. On the completion of two new capital ships to be constructed under the naval treaty Great Britain will scrap four capital ships which she is now retaining, and when this change has been made the total capital ship tonnage retained by Great Britain will be 558,950. On the completion of the battleships West Virginia and Colorado, in accordance with the Washington conference decision, the United States will scrap the battleships North Dakota and Delaware, so that the total tonnage retained by the United States after that change has been effected will be 525,850.

The statement shows that the British Navy is the only one of the five covered by the survey which has any first line cruisers, but that in second line cruisers the United States has retained eleven, of 139,450 tons, which is greater than the strength of England and Japan combined in this particular type. In first line light cruisers the United States is credited with none, while England and Japan each have more of this type of ship than the United States, France and Italy combined.

Neither Japan nor the United States possesses any destroyer leaders. But in first line destroyers the United States is easily first on account of the large number of new destroyers it built during the war. The United States has more first line destroyers than Great Britain and Japan combined. However, Japan is building fifty new first line destroyers to the three being built by this country and the three being built by England.



# THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY



By EMMANUEL URBAS

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*How Admiral Horthy broke his pledge of universal franchise, and how, through Count Bethlen, he secured a Government majority by a campaign of terrorism—The present situation*

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[SECOND INSTALMENT]

[This completes ex-Consul Urbas's study of the Horthy régime in Hungary, and of the terroristic methods it employed to obtain power. The previous instalment dealt with the policy of the Magyar aristocracy and brought the narrative up to the point where Admiral Horthy, with the aid of the Entente and on the basis of distinct promises, came into power, "not to liberate and conciliate, but to punish and avenge." The "White Terror" soon followed. In this issue Dr. Urbas tells of the methods used to secure a governmental majority in the elections, based on a discriminatory franchise law.]

## VI.

### HORTHY'S ELECTIONS

Great tryanny, lay not thy basis sure,  
For goodness dare not check thee!

(*"Macbeth," Act IV., Scene III.*)

WHILE Hungary was thus intimidated by the White Terror, Horthy held two elections. The first took place in February, 1920, to fulfill the agreement made by the British envoy and Entente representative, Sir George Clark, in November, 1919. (This agreement provided that the Rumanian troops should leave Hungary and that the National Assembly should be called together by universal franchise; also that a plebiscite election should be held to determine the future form of government.) Horthy, through a decree, unwillingly introduced universal secret franchise. He did it, however, just at the moment when terror was

reigning most fiercely, and thus succeeded in limiting the universal franchise which the Entente had dictated. An election campaign was not even possible. The Social Democratic Party was so terrorized that it decided not even to take part in the election. The elections were conducted by Horthy's followers with the use of all possible violent methods, and with the cry "Establishment of a Christian (i. e. anti-Jewish) Administration." In doing this Horthy found his chief support in the Small Farmers' Party. In fact, this party, which had emerged from the elections victorious, held the chief power in the National Assembly chosen for two years in February, 1920. By its side there was only one other party of importance, the Clerical Legitimists.

The Hungarian peasantry in the district between the Danube and the Theiss, who in earlier times had never been able to attain any importance by the side of the aristocratic landowners, suddenly became very powerful, as the revolution was succeeded by the counter-revolution. In the revolution a large proportion of the great landowners had either fled abroad or had withdrawn from political life. Under Michael Karolyi, and still more under Bela Kun, many of the high nobility had had their estates confiscated and divided. This fact, combined with the great gains which

the peasants had obtained in Hungary, as in all countries during the war, gave them a preponderating economic influence. As, however, the revolution was based exclusively on the industrial proletariat of the cities, and as the revolutionary parties neglected to take advantage of the large peasant population, the small farmers, on Horthy's appearance, offered themselves to him as his most willing and reliable followers.

The leader of the Small Farmers' Party is Stephen Szabo, whom Prime Minister Friedrich had been compelled to include in his Coalition Cabinet, formed on Aug. 27, 1919, as Minister of Agriculture. Szabo is in every respect a peasant, and appears even in Parliament with all his followers in peasant clothing and topboots. He possesses many of the best qualities of a leader, and it seemed that he might be called to play a great rôle in Hungary, as for a time his party was almost powerful enough to establish a dictatorship. These small farmers from the district between the Danube and the Theiss are a strong, stubborn, rebellious race, mostly of the Calvinistic faith. They are for Horthy, against the Hapsburgs; they are against the Socialists, but at the same time also against the high nobility; they are simultaneously anti-Semitic and anti-Roman Catholic; in fact, just the sort of people whom Horthy needed. With their help Horthy ruled the National Assembly in 1920 and 1921 with unlimited power. With their help the plebiscite vote — on the future form of government — arranged for in the Clark agreement was taken in favor of a monarchy. With the help of these people and by making use of the jealousy among members of the high nobility, Horthy managed to obtain his own election as Regent, with kingly power. With the support of the Small Farmers' Party, Horthy found himself strong enough to expel twice from the land the legitimate King (April and October, 1921).

As the high nobility, however, returned to take possession of their estates and again appeared on the political stage, the Small Farmers' Party was step by step driven back. Above all, the question of the dynasty sharpened the contrast between the Small Farmers' and the Christian Na-

tional Party of the high nobility. The latter was in favor of a Hapsburg restoration, while the peasants were in favor of a freely elected King. There was in addition an economic contrast. The Christian National Party, which also represented the interests of the bourgeois in the cities, wished a cheaper standard of living; for the farmers, however, no food prices could be too high.

The question of the franchise formed a third apple of discord. The National Assembly of February, 1920, was, as stated above, elected on the basis of a franchise which had been introduced by order of Horthy. It was now the business of the National Assembly to settle the question of franchise by legislative procedure. Naturally enough, different parties had quite different ideas on this subject. The Small Farmers' Party desired a franchise which would bestow upon it as large a number of seats as possible, and on the great landowners as few as possible. Considering the uneven distribution of the soil, a defense of these interests would have put Horthy under the necessity of carrying out a radical agrarian reform, which would probably have started a new civil war in Hungary. The middle class in the Christian National Party stood for a liberal extension of the franchise, and the high nobility, by reason of its opposition to Horthy, was also for universal franchise, but with such limitations as should guarantee it the preservation of its political influence. Moreover, it came about that continual press propaganda carried on by the emigrants gradually produced the natural result that public opinion abroad turned away in loathing from the Hungarian "Gallows Government." Thus the Hungarian counter-revolution, for internal and external political reasons, was approaching a crisis. The term of office of the National Assembly came to an end without any Constitution having been drawn up or election law decided upon. Horthy dissolved it on Feb. 16, 1922.

#### BETHLEN'S ELECTIVE LAW

A few months before this the Government had been taken over by Count Bethlen, who is still at the helm today, a man of Tisza's school, who from day to day

follows more closely in the footsteps of his master; hence his nickname in Hungary, "Vestpocket Tisza." The slowness of this man in dealing with the question of the franchise in the last few months of the sitting of the National Assembly was remarkable. He gave himself plenty of time before he brought forward any proposition, and when he did introduce one he submitted it to the National Assembly when its dissolution was imminent, and confused and delayed the negotiations between the different parties so well that finally the session came to an end without any tangible result. This was evidently the goal at which Bethlen was aiming. He now had a free hand for a coup d'état. Immediately after the dissolution of the National Assembly he abolished universal suffrage and brought out a new elective decree.

The great resistance which the Magyars made in pre-war Hungary to the introduction of universal suffrage proceeded from their fear of the election of a great number of non-Magyar Deputies. This motive was now certainly no longer valid after the cutting up of Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon; but, as has already been pointed out, the division of land in Hungary is still much more medieval than in any other part of the world. In a nation of hardly 7,000,000 inhabitants one-fifth of the land belongs to 1,273 great landowners. The rest of the cultivated land is divided into 1,336,000 estates. The number of landowners and agricultural employers in Hungary today is about 700,000, i. e., about 10 per cent. of the population. Such a territorial organization is not compatible with universal suffrage, even when tempered by the terror of officer detachments. Under these circumstances universal suffrage in the year 1922 would have produced a strongly proletarian National Assembly. It had, therefore, to be done away with. On the other hand, however, the industrial workers in the towns of Hungary today are already so well organized, and are so much under the protection of the world's proletariat, that their representation seems to be a necessary concession to foreign opinion, especially for a country which, owing to the excesses of the White Terror, has suffered

a considerable loss of prestige in foreign parts.

For that reason Bethlen brought out an elective law which is different for villages and for cities, and different for men and for women. Men become entitled to vote who are 24 years old, who have resided two years in the country, and who can produce proof of having passed through four public school classes. As schools are very rare in Hungarian villages, this arrangement excluded the great majority of the agricultural proletariat. What had a still greater effect was the different method of application of the franchise in the cities and in the country. In the country voting was public, in Budapest and in the greater cities secret. Out of 245 Deputies, 190 were elected in the public districts, fifty-five in the secret districts. The terrorism practiced by the Government during the public elections in the country and in the little cities surpassed anything that had taken place hitherto, even the Tisza election terror, and even the terror of the first Horthy election. During the election thirty opposition candidates and thousands of supporters of the opposition parties were kept in prison or interned. The election gangs organized by the Government leader of the election, Julius Gömbös, and consisting of members of the Society of Awakening Magyars, of officers, students and police agents, did their work unhindered, refused credentials quite groundlessly when they thought fit, cut short the elections at their pleasure, harangued the voters either with threats of expropriation or with promises of an immediate division of the soil, both promises and threats being based on lies; cut the telegraphic communication of the opposition candidates, hindered them from using railways or other means of traffic, and so forth.

#### OBTAINING A MAJORITY

On this Bethlen campaign alone a small volume might be written. The Government obtained its majority of 165 votes in the country, either by forcing its own candidates through by the above-mentioned means, or, as in two-thirds of the cases, by not letting the elections come to an end at all, but simply declaring its candidates elected. The remaining eighty seats fell to

opposition parties. To universal surprise, the Labor Party emerged from the secret election as the biggest opposition, with twenty-five seats, although its political life had been exposed to frightful oppression during the preceding years of the White Terror. The public opinion of the country can be judged only by the result of the secret election. In the secret districts the following percentages of seats were obtained:

The Government party .....	32
The Hapsburg opposition party (Legitimist high nobility and Legitimist bourgeois)....	10
Social Democrats .....	40
Bourgeois Democrats (favoring a democratic republic) .....	18

It is worth noticing that in these secret voting districts, although there was no universal suffrage, and although the whole machinery of election was in the hands of the Horthyists, 58 per cent. of the seats fell to the Republican and Socialist Parties and only 42 per cent. to the counter-revolutionary party. It can therefore be asserted that a democratic republic would be most acceptable to the public opinion of the land, and that if today a completely free plebiscite were taken in Hungary, Horthy would hardly receive one-quarter of the votes.

The most interesting feature, however, of the June election in Hungary is the smashing of the Small Farmers' Party, which, with the officer detachments and the Society of Awakening Magyars, had been the principal support of Horthy's personal rule. In these elections it is not Horthy who has conquered, but Bethlen. The Small Farmers' Party has melted down to seven seats. The leading group of the present Government party is the lower nobility, the so-called gentry. This stratum of society, with the help of which Count Tisza carried out his policy, has always been, and is still today, the tool of the high nobility which, too small itself to be a party, stands behind the gentry as a wire-puller. The gentry have always been reactionary, but have always styled themselves liberal, and would in fact prefer a more civilized and more European form of counter-revolution. They are, however, to a large extent dependent on high finance, which is still in the hands

of the Jews, in spite of the White Terror, and disapprove therefore of pogroms. They are monarchical and in favor of the Hapsburgs, but they differ from the clerical high nobility in being opposed to rash enterprises, and are more in favor of a long-sighted governmental policy. Their program contains among its items the restoration of pre-revolutionary Hungary, the introduction of an aristocratic second chamber, and the preservation of the power of the great landowners.

By these last elections the counter-revolution in Hungary has been placed on a broader footing. The whole change in the Government brought about by the elections consists in this, that the Terror will now be more hidden from the eyes of foreigners. Henceforth, just for the sake of public opinion in foreign countries, opportunity was given to the Labor Party to elect a few representatives in the secret election and a certain freedom in political life, a certain parliamentary control, a certain freedom of thought and a limited use of public courts of justice will be conceded within narrow bounds, and above all in order to possess a platform of defense against unpleasant attacks.

These concessions will be made, however, only in so far as Horthy's régime is not endangered thereby, or the material interest of the Hungarian gentry diminished, or the political autocracy of the social strata behind Horthy and Bethlen prejudiced or a single hair injured of the military satellites. Universal suffrage remains abolished. The officer detachments are still maintained. The military machine is completely in the hands of Horthy's faithful officers, and most of the exceptional regulations issued during the White Terror are still in force, as is the notorious Article 43 of the year 1920, which bears the title "Law Relating to the Vigorous Defense of Social Order," by virtue of which numerous Hungarian journalists have been imprisoned for articles which they have written against Horthy in foreign newspapers and condemned to many years' imprisonment (for example, Zoltan Szasz, who for an article which he published in a Viennese Hungarian newspaper, *Jövö*, was condemned to two years and a half in prison).



## VII.

## HUNGARY AND EUROPEAN POLICY

I turn back to my original thought, namely, that the ruling class in the Hungary of the Hapsburgs had only two aims: Independence—i. e., detachment from the other countries of the Danube Monarchy—and the preservation of the so-called historical boundaries of Greater Hungary. As to independence, the Magyars have attained their end. They undermined and decomposed internally the Danube Empire through their intolerant and intransigent policy; moreover, by the very fact that they—a minority of eight and a half million Magyars—forcibly kept under their yoke 11,000,000 non-Magyars, they brought the monarchy into a state of irreconcilable enmity to the surrounding States; in this manner they precipitated Austria-Hungary into the war; and, lastly, by recalling the Magyar troops from the Tyrolese front at the crucial moment, they dealt the final blow which brought about the breakdown of the army. Self-delusion and megalomania alone can explain their failure to foresee that they would gain their complete independence only by sacrificing their unnatural boundaries. The artificial structure of Greater Hungary was held together only by the support given to it by the empire of the Hapsburgs. When this support collapsed, Hungary naturally crumbled to pieces immediately. From a State of 20,000,000 inhabitants Hungary decreased to a State of 7,000,000. The Magyars complain of the loss of the territories severed from them, of the loss also of a number of their fellow-countrymen. The Magyar propaganda gives the number of these Magyars wrongly handed over to Rumania and Czechoslovakia as about three to three and a half millions. In reality, the Magyars in the new Rumania—at most one and a half million—form a little colony in the middle of the Rumanian territory. Without making a political enclave, this wrong was unavoidable. The 700,000 Magyars living in Slovakia, and now included in the new Czechoslovak Republic, are peasants of Slavic stock, who became Magyars only in the second half of the nineteenth century. A very high percentage of them

are illiterate. These Magyars will certainly become Czechs again in twenty years. How small this wrong to the Magyars seems, when regarded from an impartial point of view and compared with the other acts of violence committed by the peace treaties! For instance, the wrong done to Southern Tyrol, where a territory which has been German for a thousand years, which contains the birthplace of the greatest medieval German poet, Walter von der Vogelweide, and the native valley of one of the fighters for German liberty against Napoleon, Andreas Hofer, was given over to Italy without any political pretext or necessity.

The French peace treaties have two great enemies—chauvinism in the defeated States and Bolshevism. France, in carrying out the peace treaties, had to decide for herself which of these enemies should be considered more dangerous. Poincaré's France has evidently come to the conclusion that Bolshevism is the more dangerous of the two, since chauvinism was defeated and disarmed on the battlefields. The foreign policy of France is therefore to erect everywhere a rampart against the wave of Bolshevism and radical socialism which, if allowed to progress unhindered, will inevitably undermine and destroy the French peace treaties. This was the reason why France supported Horthy when Bolshevism reigned in Budapest and Munich. The French policy in Hungary, however, seems in the highest degree mischievous. It has created there a centre of reaction and national chauvinism, which first established itself through the White Terror, and has been since verified by the election. This reaction is now seeking connections in the whole world in order at a suitable moment to effect its aim—the regaining of Hungary's lost territories by sheer force. The attainment of this aim is being already prepared by several large irredentist societies in Hungary, of which the most important is the society, *Move*, founded by Horthy's pacemaker, Julius Gömbös. The Society of the Awakening Magyars also declares one of its aims to be the tearing up of the Treaty of Trianon. There also exists a League of Territorial Defenses, which carries on a propaganda for the reconquest of the territories that have been

handed over to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia.

During the first part of Horthy's Government, from November, 1919, to June, 1922, i. e., up to the last elections, one could clearly follow two lines of the counter-revolution—Horthy's line and the Hapsburg line. Horthy's party declared that the question of the dynasty must be postponed to a later date, and avoided taking any standpoint regarding King Charles's pretensions. The Small Farmers' Party and most of the younger officers of the officer detachments were anti-Hapsburg. The impression was that Horthy himself aspired for the crown. This Horthy party held in its hand the real power of the country; it possessed the military force, terrorized justice and could count on the support of the peasants. The other line was represented by the Legitimist Party, also called the Counts' Party, headed by Count Andrássy and Count Apponyi. It demanded the immediate recall of King Charles, and answered the objection of the Horthyists—that such an event would mean war with Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia—by asserting that they had assurances of support from French and English military circles in case of a *fait accompli*. This Hapsburg party was represented by the aristocracy, the higher officers, and most of the official circles. Also high finance and the bourgeois of the larger cities were more attached to the

Hapsburg party than to the Horthy party. The Hapsburg party saw in restoration an opportunity to regain Hungary's lost territories. But after the failure of the late Emperor's attempt to regain his throne in October, 1921, and the Entente's—rather, the Little Entente's—decree banishing the Hapsburg line, the issue lost much of its importance. Today, with the Emperor dethroned and dead, and his son a minor, the monarchical aims of the two parties are beginning to be reconciled and fused, although the actual parties are still in opposition.

The common aim of all counter-revolutionary parties is now an ultimate Hapsburg restoration by means of a temporary regency. The counter-revolutionary Government has firmly established itself. Horthy himself has been thrown into shadow a little by the last elections. If today Horthy were to be replaced by Bethlen, nothing would be changed. It would mean only the satisfaction of one ambition by the displacement of another. But for the time being Nikolaus von Horthy seems clearly decided to defend his residence in the magnificent royal castle above the Danube, and he takes every opportunity to show himself to the public, surrounded by kingly splendor, always attired in the uniform of an Admiral of the former Austro-Hungarian fleet, and decorated with all the stars and orders of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns.

## ENGLAND'S DYING MIDDLE CLASS

A SYMPOSIUM in The London Morning Post reveals a disquieting situation as regards England's middle class. Census reports indicate that the birth rate for this class is steadily decreasing, while the heavy rates and taxes that fall upon it are steadily forcing it toward the point where it cannot afford to have any children at all.

The old cry that France is a dying nation, because of its excess of deaths over births, may yet prove true for Great Britain, unless steps are taken by the Govern-

ment to ease the lot of what should be its strongest bulwark—the middle class. Lord Decies of the Income Taxpayers' Society believes the only hope lies in a great reduction of taxation, to be made possible by Government economy and "by aiming at a greater equality of sacrifice in regard to war costs." An interesting feature of the discussion is the revelation of the proud and independent spirit of the dying class, which refuses alms and anything savoring of charity, even when in actual need of food.

# PACIFIST REVOLUTION IN CROATIA

By LUDWELL DENNY

*Causes of the present deadlock between the Croats and the rulers of the new Serbian Kingdom—Personalities around which the conflict revolves—Why [Croatian and Slovenian autonomy, despite ideals of Nationalist leaders, is bound to come*

**T**O compare Croatia with Ireland is to miss the point. Croatia, in culture, in wealth, in social organization, is to the Yugoslav Kingdom rather what England is to the United Kingdom. Imagine Ireland subjugating the English and the Scots, and you will have some idea of Serb domination over the Slovenes and Croats. If one could conjure up a vision of some English Gandhi, lacking Gandhi's statesmanship and spiritual authority, leading England in a pacifist non-co-operation revolt against the autocratic rule of Dublin, one might gain a suggestion of the policy and personality of Stephen Raditch, the Croatian leader. Any serious attempt, however, to explain by analogy the present muddle in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes would be misleading. \* \* \*

Belgrade is the capital of Serbia. It is a typical overgrown Balkan village, with squalid, muddy streets, low terra-cotta buildings, ox-carts, veils and the red fez, vendetta-clansmen, heavy peacocks, Mohammedan politicians, Greek Orthodox priests; weird music and the eternal black coffee and cigarette. Intrigue and corruption are in the lazy air. Within a generation it was Turkish, and had been Turkish for centuries. It retains its Oriental character. Belgrade is the East.

Agram is the capital of Croatia-Slavonia. It is a beautiful modern city. It is German, alike in architecture, in learning, in commercial methods and in spirit. Changing its name to "Zagreb" no more



(Times Wide World Photos)

KING ALEXANDER,  
Ruler of Yugoslavia

changes its being than to call Vienna the Slav "Widen"; for, less cosmopolitan, it is actually more Austrian than Vienna. Agram is the West.

Kipling's shallow jingle, however, declaring that the East and West can never meet, does not apply here. Belgrade and Agram will meet. That they have not yet done so, that most Croats refuse to be represented in the Yugoslav Skupstina (National Assembly), or to pay the taxes imposed by the Belgrade Government, is due less to cultural antipathy than to economic and political differences, aggravated by Serbia's methods. The Serb politicians were never renowned for wisdom or integrity; within the last ten years the spoils of war have increased the territory under their control fourfold, and the population fivefold, and autocracy and militarism are the result.

Above all, the present deadlock is the result of a conflict of personalities—and notably the personalities of three men—M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier; M. S. Pribitchevitch, a Serb of Croatian birth, a supporter of Pashitch, and Stephen Raditch, the Croatian nationalist leader. Premier Pashitch of Serbia is an old Czarist, who helps maintain the Wrangel Army, and who decorates his office with a bust of Tolstoy. "It is quite impossible for any one who has stood behind the scenes to retain a vestige of confidence in M. Pashitch. To the general public he may be an ornamental figure with a venerable beard, but to the initiated he stands for all those practices of devious intrigue, evasion and prevarication which have given the word "Balkan" in its political sense so unpleasant a sound. This is the opinion of the English scholar, Dr. Seton-Watson, for years the chief exponent of South Slav union and now a severe critic of Yugoslav "independence movements"; he cannot be charged with unfairness either to Pashitch or to Serbia.

#### STEPHEN RADITCH

Raditch, the Croatian, is an idealist. He is sincere and liberal, but "peculiar." He is a pudgy, middle-aged, near-sighted gentleman, who works in shirt sleeves and carpet slippers and is devoid of affectation. One likes the man. He has a republican

"complex"; his talk is bourgeois liberalism gone to seed. "My ideal is to make my country like the United States," he tells you. He has never been in America. Though he is the peasants' leader and idolized by them, he is not himself a peasant, but a city book merchant, and "very well off." His tremendous sincerity as an orator, however, enhanced by the martyrdom of frequent imprisonment, first by the Hungarians and now by the Serbs, carries the people. Though educated in Paris, and widely read in history and political theory, he is a strangely ignorant man. His cure for secret diplomacy is the dismissal of all ambassadors; as a self-styled pacifist he would prevent war by abolishing the army and substituting a general conscript militia for "defense only." He wants a Croatian Republic within a Yugoslav Kingdom. That the Croatian autonomy movement has been able to survive such heroic but absurd leadership is evidence of its great strength.

The source of this strength, however, is not M. Raditch, but 800 years of independent history. When the Hungarian Government encroached upon Croatia's autonomous life, her people rose in a revolt which after 1868 gained sufficient momentum to shake the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The present weapon of parliamentary abstention is the same as was used against the Magyar oppressors. Many Austrian politicians, apprehensive lest the Croat revolt destroy the uneasy equilibrium of the empire, accepted the solution offered by "Trialism," viz., a Croat-Dalmatian-Bosnian State having equality with Austria and Hungary within a triune monarchy. The two chief Croatian parties were autonomist and not separatist. One Serb of Croatian birth—S. Pribitchevitch—has become today the power behind Pashitch and the most tenacious opponent of Croatian autonomy. Working with him in the early days was another young student, Stephen Raditch. Foreseeing that the peasants, who form 82 per cent. of the Croat population, would become the determining element in Croat politics, Raditch, in 1904, refused to join the autonomist Croat-Serb coalition, and formed a miniature Peasant Party. He has worked year by year until finally the whole inert



peasantry has come into his hand, to mold as he will.

### THE CROAT "BETRAYAL"

The most ignorant among these peasants knows that his country has been betrayed by the Serb Government. He was never fond of his brother, the Serb; he fought the war against Serbia with a will, and took Belgrade for the empire. But when the war was over and the intellectuals of the Yugoslav Committee in London told him it was time for the Slav brothers to work together he was willing to sacrifice the then independent Croatia for Yugoslav union. To the people and representatives of the Croatian States and Slovenia, as well as to the intellectual leaders in London, such as Trumbitch, Masaryk, and

Seton-Watson, this meant a South Slav nation in which the several historical units, each with its distinct traditions and religious, cultural, linguistic, and economic life, would be equal. It was a concept and purpose consciously opposed to the pan-Serbism of M. Pashitch and his Belgrade clique, who dreamed of restoring and enlarging the medieval Serb Empire. \* \* \* The liberal theorists who evolved it have, for the moment at least, been defeated, and M. Pashitch has triumphed.

That the Pan-Serbs have been able to gain control of the Croatian provinces and Slovenia without formal conquest is due largely to the Allies, who backed the reactionary side. Serbia had proclaimed the new kingdom without the consent of the Croatian Parliament, and when it became



Map of Yugoslavia, showing provinces and countries that constitute the new State

clear that Belgrade would not keep faith with the previous agreements for provincial equality, the Croatian protest was so general that it was subdued only by what was virtually martial law. Though freedom of press and assemblage were suspended, and Raditch and others jailed, there were 160,000 signatures on the appeal sent to Mr. Wilson at Paris. Ignored by the Peace Conference, the autonomists of the non-Serb provinces hopefully looked forward to the elections (November, 1920) for the Constituent Assembly of the new State, which would be in effect a plebiscite on the question of Pan-Serb centralism versus Yugoslav federalism. Having carried the elections despite intimidation, Raditch and "the republican majority of Croatian representatives" proclaimed the "Neutral Peasant Republic of Croatia." Theirs was the old Croatian policy of not sitting in a Parliament whose authority the people did not recognize; they would fight only with the pacifist weapons of non-co-operation and civil disobedience. When the sovereign Serb State was willing to treat with the sovereign Croat State as an equal, they would jointly negotiate a Yugoslav federation; until then no compromise.

#### CROATS GAINING STRENGTH

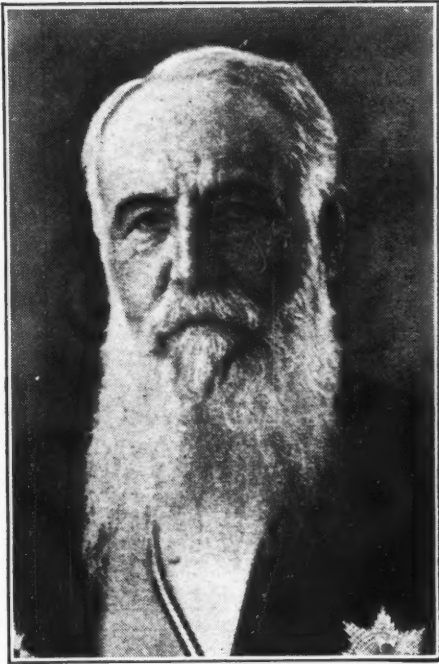
Now, however, they receive aid from other oppressed provinces; and the Croat bloc, which addressed an appeal to the Genoa conference and "all civilized nations," has grown from 51 to 63 Deputies. Even with the Croats absent from the Skuptchina last Summer, the Belgrade politicians could not enact their Constitution without openly bribing the Moslem landlords. The Slovenes—the third major partner in the kingdom—voted solidly against this instrument, which deprived their historic province of what self-government it had possessed under the Hapsburgs. This Constitution created a highly centralized State. Its meagre Bill of Rights was soon nullified by the passage of a vicious decree, which established the death sentence for political offenses "and in general all anti-military propaganda," destroyed the effective labor movement, and unseated the 54 Communist Deputies who had voted with

the Serb peasants and the Slovenes against the Constitution. It has enabled the Serb gendarmes, in defiance of the Minorities Treaty signed with the Allies, to terrorize Croatia in a manner comparable to the worst deeds of Magyar misrule. The result of such methods has been to strengthen the autonomy movement from Macedonia in the south to Slovenia in the north.

I asked Raditch about the future possibilities. "We do not go to the steam-roller Skuptchina (the peasants will not let us), because the Serb minority has so manipulated the representation and election laws that their defeat is almost impossible," he replied. "Despite these handicaps, in the next election we shall carry Dalmatia (80 per cent. Croatian) and Bosnia. On this legal basis the Croatian Republic, with Parliament and all Ministers in Agram, will begin to function. Then, if the Serbs wish to form a federation with us and the Slovenes, we republicans will even recognize their King as symbol and sovereign of the free union." He showed me the Constitution of this paper republic; a naïve reconciliation of republic and monarchy, pacifism and conscription. Because he cannot define the exact nature of his federal state or the extent of his ideal autonomy, the Pashitch-Pribitchevitch group have been able to laugh him out of court. But Raditch is only the spokesman of the protest. Behind it are bishops, bankers, and publicists of power; and one finds them quietly confident that home rule will be achieved.

The Roman Catholic Church, which ministers to 78 per cent. of the population, has lost a few subsidies, but retains its freedom of action and its wealth. The Archbishop, formerly a Hapsburg loyalist, told me that although he is not a Raditch republican, he and most of his clergy are working for autonomy. The Serb apologists charge that the Vatican is the source of all the Croatian agitation, working for union with Catholic Austria.

The capitalists have their own grudge against Belgrade. They point out that Serbia runs the Government and spends the money, but that they pay the bills (20 per cent. of Yugoslavia's capital wealth is Serb, 60 per cent. Croat). The rail-



NICOLAS PASHITCH,  
Premier of Jugoslavia

roads of Croatia return good profits; on those of Serbia there is a huge deficit. Already the national debt, chiefly Serb, amounts to almost 4,000,000,000 dinars; and though her late enemies are disarmed, Jugoslavia, with a population of 11,300,000, keeps an army of 300,000 men (officially 250,000). Last year this luxury cost 1,000,000,000 dinars (over one-fourth of the budget), and this year 50 per cent. more. Naturally the Agram business men want Croatian control of the provincial finances and joint regulation of the federal budget.

#### FEDERALISM INEVITABLE

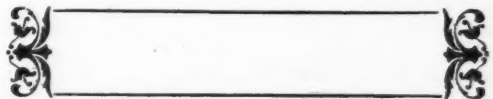
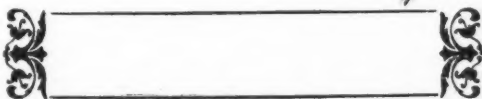
M. Pashitch has only two weapons to use against the Croatian movement—denial and suppression. Neither is sufficient. Ro-

man Catholicism in the North, Agram capitalism, peasant non-co-operation—these non-violent forces, together with armed revolt in the South, and the inherent weakness of the Serb system, will necessitate some form of federal government. It may come after the next elections.

But the instability of the Yugoslav State must be understood relatively; of all the new or enlarged States it is the most firmly established. It can be made a homogeneous, economic and racial unit. There are forces of intelligence and justice in Serbia. And this brings one to the paradox behind the Serb-Croat problem—the Belgrade politicians, intoxicated by military victory, are not Serbia; and the "Neutral Peasant Republic," with its halo of non-resisting martyrdom, is not Croatia. Serbia, democratic as only a primitive peasantry in a land without aristocracy or middle class can be democratic, is nearer the ideal of a peasant republic. In Croatia the peasants have never ruled; the control of feudal landlords is changing in form, but will remain till merged with capitalism.

The deeper unity of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is the peasant majority, 80 per cent. or more in every province. After the conflict of nationalities has ceased, the more fundamental agrarian conflict will grow. Evasion of the model land laws will bring the Moslem magnate of Bosnia, the Count of Croatia and the bureaucrat of Serbia together into one camp, and the peasant of the North and South into another camp. The peasant will win.

One sees a Jugoslavia politically united—a "democratic" peasant kingdom of prosperous and conservative small farmers, benevolently ruled by concession-holding American bankers and content to let others develop and drain their country, run their railroads, and plan their wars, so long as they have their land and do not have to pay high taxes.



Manchuria is a land of contrasts. Alongside of hotels that have elevator service, roof gardens and golf courses are evidences of ancient customs. These Manchurians are at tea. They may be discussing the desirability of shooting the chutes at the new amusement park, though appearances are against it



## MODERN PROGRESS IN MANCHURIA

By UTHAI VINCENT WILCOX

*Author of "Twentieth Century Methods in an Ancient Land"*

*Strange contrasts in the land of the Manchus, where twentieth century inventions jostle the ancient customs and superstitions of the Far East—American locomotives and trolley lines already fully naturalized*

IT was a solid train of Pullman sleepers, compartment cars, diner and smoking cars, drawn by a big mogul-type passenger locomotive over a broad-gauge road-bed that was as firm and well made as the most particular section boss could demand. Heavy rails—ninety pounds, I think they told me—laid on the standard broad gauge made a decided contrast to those over which we had of late been traveling, and the train got under way with as little effort as any we had ever been on. Soon the rails were clicking away under us as we sped at a thirty-five-mile clip across the open country that surrounds the ancient capital. \* \* \*

Any one reading the foregoing paragraph, and not knowing the first sentence of the quoted letter, would think that this was a mere description of a ride on one of the better trains of America. He would be wondering why the editor wanted to print a story about such ordinary things as railroad trains and Pullman sleepers.

But now read the first sentence: "We left Mukden in the evening about 8 o'clock on a railroad that was for all the world like many of the fast lines of America." The "ancient capital" was that of the Manchus.

This is just another bit of evidence that tells of the advance of Western civilization



into the Far East. And the great train, with its locomotive of the latest and most approved style, and the best products of the Pullman shops coupled to it, is not all of the modern wonders now a part of the Far Eastern sights.

If you are a bit startled to know of this railway achievement in the Manchurian country you will hardly be ready for other equally surprising facts. Perhaps you have always considered Manchuria a semi-wild and dreary country, peopled with Mongolians and partly barbarous tribes. You may have recalled from your geography or your history that the Manchus conquered China, and for more than 200 years compelled the Chinese to wear queues. You would expect to find idols, poverty, ignorance and all that goes with a backward land. And you would be right—you would find all of that today. But you would also find side by side with this poverty, ignorance, superstition, side by side with the symbols of ancient religion and the philosophy of ancestor worship, the ultra-modern luxuries of a Western civilization that bears unmistakable evidence of having been made in America.

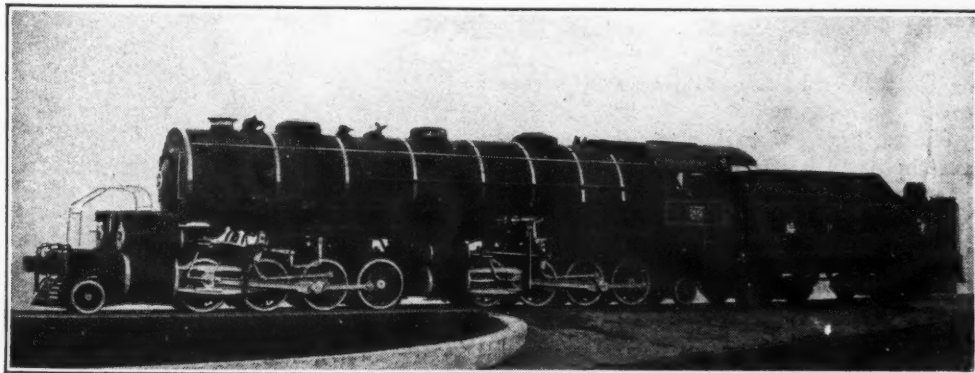
Let me quote again from the letter above referred to: "When we awoke we knew that we were approaching Dairen. The station is like many of our modern stations, with a subway for the passengers' exit under the tracks which leads to the carriage and motor stand. A uniformed porter met us, and said he was from the Yamato Hotel and would look after our baggage."

If you will examine your map—your very latest map—of the Far East you will find Dairen, a city on the extreme end of the Manchurian peninsula. It is a newer

city than many others of this ancient land, that considers new anything less than several centuries old. Dairen has become to some extent like a hustling young city of some of the Pacific Coast States of America. The hotel that is located there compares with many modern hotels in equipment and efficiency and comfort. It has a long, cool lobby, with bellboys and desk arrangements, and even an elevator. The rooms have such modern furnishings as brass beds, full-length mirrors, and large bathrooms connecting. Taking the elevator to the roof, you will discover the very latest luxury, whether of East or of West, as far as hotels are concerned—a roof garden. This one has real running water, flower nooks, old rocks and shrubbery, waterfalls, grottoes and goldfish. There are tables about, and pleasant resting places.

Do you like to play golf? Then you may call your motor and ride out from the hotel for a few miles, and you will find a perfectly kept golf course. Or perhaps you like other kinds of fun, even of the type of Coney Island. You have no doubt convinced yourself that America is the only nation on the face of the earth that has elected to have fun in this serious, strenuous way. But there is a park in

This latest and most powerful of locomotives will never pull trains in America. It was built here, but is to serve Manchuria on the railroad there that owns and operates hotels, steel works, museums, and even governs cities. This giant engine, 95 feet long, including the tender, develops 3,000 horsepower and is the largest ever shipped from the United States. When the brown men of the Orient are learning to run such engines, times are changing



These Korean business men, next door neighbors to the Manchurians, typify the present stage of transition in the Orient. Their hats, tortoiseshell glasses, and canes are modern, yet they rarely if ever use chairs. They have probably been visiting an hour or so in just this position



Dairen known as Denki-yuen, which means electric park. This is at the end of the street-car line, the favorite location of most amusement parks, even in America. Here the street-car company runs all sorts of devices for your entertainment and for that of the native peoples. There are merry-go-rounds, shoot-the-chutes, scenic railways, roller-skating rinks, shooting galleries, a menagerie, restaurants, tea houses and moving pictures! At night it is all brilliantly illuminated, and there are many serious-faced Orientals playing the nerve-racking games of America.

Dairen means, in Chinese language, "great connections," and it is really a connecting link between the ancient and the modern. West has become East, and East has become West; it is hard to know where one begins and the other leaves off. If it were not for the faces of the people, their ancient customs and their poverty, it would be easy to believe that some twentieth century genii had lifted the city over from the Occident and set it down as a model for the Orient to copy.

The railroad company has been the pioneer there, as it has been in America. It has established experimental stations to study modern methods in farming, weaving and growing. It has established schools for beginners, where men could learn early in life. Even free transportation is provided in the worst part of Winter time. There are coal mines, oil wells, modern steel works and rolling mills.

The whole southern end of Manchuria is rapidly going through a metamorphosis that is the wonder of every traveler. The world has been so busy looking at its sore spots in Europe that it has hardly noticed the wonder of contrast going on in Manchuria. If the process continues, tourists who are looking for primitive conditions will soon be obliged to go to the heart of Africa to find them, for rapidly the century-old conservative strongholds of Asia are becoming modernized in a way that would even be of interest in many parts of the United States.

The same process is going on across the border in Korea, which now belongs to Japan. The Koreans, recently among the most backward of Asiatic nations, are now riding in electric cars as naturally as Americans, and their ancient temples are neighbored by telephone poles and electric lights. Though Manchuria still belongs to China, the Japanese influence in trade and industrial progress is making itself felt there more and more every year. To the south, China is waking up of its own initiative, while in the north Japanese enterprise, as well as Russian, is changing the very diversions of the native populations. Everywhere, too, there is a sprinkling of keen-eyed Americans, as well as of young native graduates of American technical schools, carrying modern works and ways to the remotest districts.



Modern locomotives and these grotesque and ancient mileposts both in the same country at the same time! They are not totem poles, but wayside guideposts, each telling something concerning the road and the way to go

Just over the line from Manchuria is Korea, and the railway that has been planting Western methods and ideas in Southern Manchuria also controls the Korean railways and trolley lines. Note the contrast between the modern street cars, with fenders, air brakes and electric lights, and the century-old wall and gate in the background



(Photo International)



Sacred tent of the Moslem Prophet, recently pitched in Cairo as a rallying place of the faithful. Tradition has it that this tent was once used by Mohammed and that his spirit still inhabits it

(Gilliams Service)

## The Nationalist Ferment in Islam

By SPENCER BRODNEY

*Mohammedanism in the 1,300 years since the Hegira—Fear of a new “holy war” unjustified—Not religion, but economics, lies behind Islam’s revolt today—The religious appeal a strategic weapon—The right of 227,000,000 Moslems to independence and national self-determination*

THIS year marks the completion of thirteen centuries since the beginnings of the great religious and social movement we know as Mohammedanism. In the 1,300 years which have passed since the Hegira (Great Flight), when Mohammed betook himself from Mecca to Medina, and founded the system that bears his name, his original followers

have increased from the merest handful to a widespread population numbering, as well as can be ascertained, about 227,000,000. The difficulty of obtaining correct statistics has been complicated by the breakdown of census-taking organization and the redistribution of territory since the war, as well as by the customary objection of Mohammedans to supply informa-



tion about their families, and by the absence of statistical investigation in many regions where Mohammedan missionaries have been making large numbers of converts in recent years; it is, therefore, not unlikely that the figures shown in the accompanying table underestimate the numbers at the present time.

Nearly half of the above total are under British rule; about 30,000,000 are subjects of Holland; and about 25,000,000 owe allegiance to France. To the Western nations these millions of human beings present a serious menace, for they are seething with discontent, which may at any time flare up into revolt and plunge the world into renewed conflict. From this standpoint the campaign of the Turkish nationalists, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, to recover Constantinople and Eastern Thrace, appears most significant as an attempt by a Moslem community to assert itself, and thereby rouse other sections of its coreligionists to revolt. Some students of international affairs go so far as to declare that the day is not far distant when the Mohammedans will unite throughout the world to wage a new holy war. Before, however, we assume that those 200,000,000 are able or willing to make common cause, we should

be certain whether their religious beliefs can provide a basis for such world-wide unity.

It is usual to regard Mohammedanism as primarily a religion. Whether we study the life of Mohammed himself and the early history of the movement or note the present-day spread of the faith, however, it is obvious that the correct method of approach is to consider the system as social and political in all essential aims. When we thus disentangle the political from the religious, we see at once how unlikely is a general uprising of Mohammedans and the waging by them of a holy war against the Christian nations. It is a fact, the importance of which cannot be minimized, that a new spirit is rife among the Mohammedan peoples, but it is not in any way the spirit of the religious crusader. It is the desire for liberty, for national self-determination. Moreover, this nationalism does not relate to Mohammedanism as a whole, but is concerned with the destinies of the respective countries with which the interests of Mohammedans are bound. The Turks are pre-eminently nationalists; the Persians and Egyptians are most concerned about their own political and economic freedom; in India the Mohammedans are drawing ever

#### MOHAMMEDAN POPULATION BY COUNTRIES

Southeastern Europe .....	4,000,000
Asiatic Turkey (before the war).....	15,000,000
Asiatic Russia (before the war).....	14,000,000
Persia .....	9,000,000
Afghanistan .....	5,000,000
India .....	70,000,000
China .....	12,000,000
Indo-China and Siam .....	2,000,000
Malay Archipelago and Pacific Islands.....	35,000,000
Egypt .....	12,000,000
Sudan .....	4,000,000
Abyssinia .....	5,000,000
Tripoli .....	2,000,000
Tunis .....	2,000,000
Algeria .....	5,000,000
Morocco .....	5,000,000
Liberia .....	1,000,000
British, French, Belgian, Italian and former German colonies in West, East and Central Africa	25,000,000

Approximate total Mohammedan population  
of the world ..... 227,000,000

nearer to the Hindus, so that they may act together for the liberation of their country from its present rulers. So strong, indeed, is this national particularism that the teachings of Mohammed have been as powerless to prevent one Moslem people fighting against another as the gospel of Jesus has been to maintain peace among Christian nations. Like Christianity also, Islam, while retaining to the present day the cardinal tenets of its founder, has become split up into numerous divisions and sects. Besides that, many adherents under the influence of modern ideas remain attached to the religious organization in nothing more than name, because, as has been said, it is also a social system.

#### NO MOHAMMEDAN UNITY

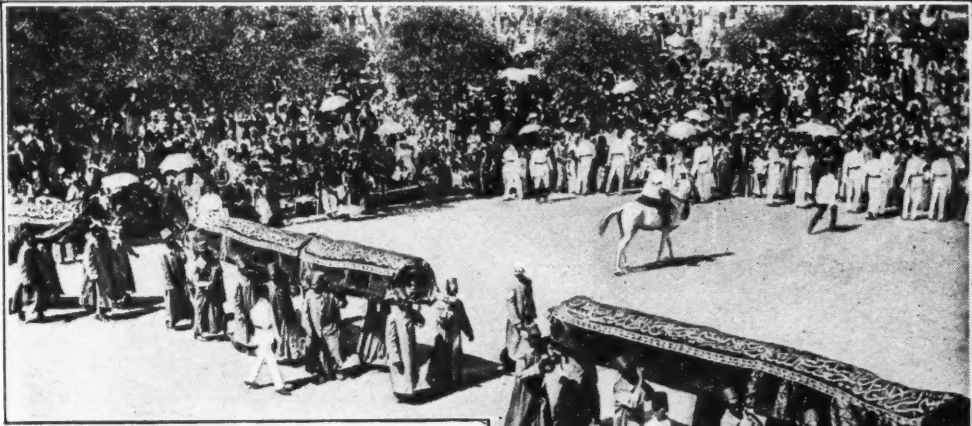
The Mohammedan world does not constitute a united organism, but is a very loose collection of peoples and communities imbued with the most diverse social, political and sectarian ideas and aims; in short, is just as inchoate as what is termed Christendom. The Mohammedans in China are Chinese first, just as Roman Catholic citizens of the United States are Americans first. If there is any sympathy between the various Mohammedan peoples, it arises from the fact that they all realize that their aspirations are thwarted by the same mighty forces of the West. Similarly, the Indians look up to the Japanese, not because there is much in common between them, but because the Japanese have given the world the first example of a "colored" race which has been able to establish itself on a basis of national equality with the white races.

What is this religion which has no many followers, and upon which Western fears of a holy war are founded? The Mohammedans themselves always refer to it as Islam, which means "submission to the will of God," and they call themselves Muslim (Moslem), which is another form of the word Islam. According to them, there is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his Prophet. To be a good Moslem you must believe in God and His unity, in God's absolute rule of the world, in angels, and in good and bad spirits, in the Prophet, in the Koran and in revelation, in the resurrection and judgment day.

Mohammedanism acquired this character as a monotheistic and universal religion for reasons which are now historically clear and understandable. At the time when Mohammed began to promulgate his ideas, the Arabs were simply a number of scattered tribes, each of which had its own God. These tribal deities were the expression of tribal independence and disunity. Mohammed, aiming at the creation of a single State or social system, adopted the conception of an all-powerful deity whom all should acknowledge and obey. His idea of Allah as the only God was the reflection of his political purpose. Under the leadership of Mohammed and the Caliphs—Caliph is the Arabic word for "successor"—not only were the Arabs welded into a nation, but by the conquest of Egypt, Persia, Phoenicia, Syria and Palestine a Mohammedan empire was established, first with Damascus and then with Bagdad as its capital. Europe, too, might have fallen under the sway of the Caliphs, had not Charles Martel won the decisive battle at Tours in France in the year 732. Though driven out of France, the Mohammedans held their ground in Spain, where they set up a Caliphate at Cordova, and where they remained until their defeat and expulsion in 1492. In the meanwhile, they had spread their dominion and their faith in Asia and Africa, had captured Constantinople, and had subjugated that unhappy region of South-eastern Europe where the most terrible of all international conflicts originated in our own time.

#### "HOLY WARS" RELICS OF PAST

The religion of Islam was well adapted to the purposes of world conquest. Wherever the Moslem armies went, they offered the unbeliever the choice of three things—conversion to their faith, the payment of tribute or death. They understood that to leave conquered peoples undisturbed in their religious beliefs and social customs was to build Moslem authority on insecure foundations. For this reason every war for the extension of their empire took on the appearance of a holy war. Today the more intelligent Mohammedans are aware that the age of proselytizing with fire and sword has passed, and they no longer



(Gilliams Service)

Recent scene in Cairo at the annual ceremony of the moving of the Holy Carpet from Cairo to Mecca. Elaborate ritual attends the ceremony



preach the duty of converting unbelievers by those methods. It is also recognized that, even if they wanted to, they no longer possess the armed forces necessary for world conquest and wholesale conversion.

Nevertheless, Mohammedanism still remains a missionary religion. The duty of gaining converts is clearly laid down in the Koran, but through having relied upon war for the purpose, Islam had no regular priesthood or separate body of men who engaged in missionary work, though any Moslem, man or woman, might seek to spread the faith by individual effort. The Moslem trader has been particularly active wherever he has gone, if for no other reason than that people of the same belief conduct business together more easily. To these individual and often spasmodic activities there have been added in recent years Moslem missionary societies, in imitation of similar organizations founded by the Christian churches, and it is through these bodies that the present-day spread of Mohammedanism is taking place. Conversion is now effected by the more peaceful methods of persuasion and appeals to self-interest. For a whole generation the Moslem missionaries have been making great progress among the natives of Africa, to whose dispositions and needs, according to the reports of travelers, Mohammedanism seems

to adapt itself without difficulty. New adherents have been gained in India and other parts of Asia, while in the Malay Archipelago steady advances are being made.

#### ISLAM BEING MODERNIZED

It is not so much by its theology as by its morality, social usages and effect upon everyday life that Mohammedanism distinguishes its devotees from the adherents of other religions. Prayers five times a day, alms-giving, fasting at certain periods, abstention from gambling, from wine drinking and from the eating of swine flesh and a code relating to bodily cleanliness are the most familiar of the obligations a Moslem must observe. There are many who are not strict in the performance of their religious duties, but even the most neglectful give alms regularly and fast during Ramadan, the month in which Mohammed received his revelation. One other important duty is to make a pilgrimage at least once in a lifetime to Mecca. Characteristically enough, the pilgrim is permitted to trade on the journey to and from the sacred city. The feature about the Mohammedan moral code which

has always most interested the majority of Europeans and Americans is the sanction given to polygamy. Mohammed decreed that a believer might have four wives. In practice, however, very few Mohammedans marry more than one woman. In their private life the Mohammedans as a whole appear to be a great deal less lax than the people of the West.\* Mohammedan women are still secluded in harems and obliged to veil their faces when they appear in public, but these long-established customs are now beginning to disappear. Feminist ideas with so much else from the Occident are transforming Islam, with the inevitable result that before long Mohammedan women will enjoy the same freedom as women now possess in Christian countries.

The prophecy which Mohammed is reported to have made that after him seventy-three sects would arise has been more than fulfilled. Schism began to appear at an early period, and was often the ostensible cause of dissension and civil war. The first great division, which has lasted until the present time, took place between the Sunnites and the Shiites on the question of who were the legitimate Caliphs or successors of the Prophet. It is estimated that the Shiites now number between fifteen and twenty millions. The much more numerous Sunnites are further split up into four orthodox sects or legal schools, now for the most part distributed in (1) Turkey, Central Asia and Northern India; (2) Egypt and Southern India; (3) Morocco and other parts of Northern Africa; and (4) Eastern Arabia and certain regions of Africa. Then, too, there are sects of freethinkers, of mystics such as the Sufis, and of believers who cling to the original Moslem creed with puritanical sternness and fanaticism. Islam has experienced almost as many movements for reformation, forms of revivalism, controversies and varieties of religious activity as Christianity itself. Nor have these changes and processes of development come to an end. Modern conditions and the ideas to which they give rise are mak-

ing themselves felt profoundly throughout the Mohammedan world. The fact that Islam today is no longer what it was even a generation ago must be kept constantly in mind.

#### ECONOMICS BEHIND REVOLT

The clue to the understanding of Mohammedanism at the present time is that, generally speaking, all the countries in which it is established are undeveloped industrially. It has been frequently asserted that this economic backwardness is a result of the religion, and the character such a religion produces. This is an altogether misleading notion. The Mohammedan countries have been at a disadvantage because they were among the less favored in regard to natural resources, climate and other physical conditions, and because they lay outside the sphere of commercial and industrial expansion when the modern age of business opened and led to the rise of the great mercantile nations of today. The history of the world's trade has been a steady shifting from East to West. When enterprise began again to turn to the Orient, it was in the form of expansion by those Western nations powerful enough to exploit undeveloped lands and unwilling to permit them to evolve an industrialism of their own. Nevertheless, the introduction of modern methods has been changing conditions and creating a new class which, in its turn, wishes to reap the full benefit of native industry and commerce. Mohammedan business men see no reason why they should not only participate in the development of their respective countries, but also control that development. As a first step toward freedom to pursue their aims they demand that they shall no longer be politically dependent on, or at the mercy of, the stronger nations. This, and nothing else, is the real basis of all the nationalist movements in the East. Articles contributed by Clair Price and other writers to *CURRENT HISTORY* during the last year are full of evidence showing that this is the case.

The appeal to the religious prejudices of the masses is admitted by the more candid Mohammedan leaders to have no other object than to gain the popular support which is necessary for the achievement of

\* On this point Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, in an article on Turkey in *CURRENT HISTORY*, September, 1922, brings forward some very interesting facts.





(Photo Gilllams Service)

Mecca, the Holy City of Islam, to which every good Moslem hopes to journey once in his life, thus acquiring the title "Hadji" before his name



(Photo Gilllams Service)

Devout Moslems in the interior of Asia setting forth on their long pilgrimage to Mecca, carrying aloft the banner of the Prophet

their purposes. Moslem propaganda succeeds because the people, besides being acutely aware of their wretched condition, are naïve and credulous. From the most tolerant standpoint it must be acknowledged that the interest of Britain, France, Holland and other nations in Mohammedan countries is primarily commercial profit,\* and that, despite the excellence of the administration set up by the European powers, the result is exploitation of the natives, accompanied all too often by oppression and tyranny. Human beings who are ignorant, poor and ill-treated are most easily roused by any religious teaching which promises them relief. This is the psychology which the Mohammedan nationalist leaders and exponents of Pan-Islamic aspirations are using as a weapon of revolt against the Christian nations. It explains also why the one non-Christian people which has been able to rise to the position of a world power is an inspiring example. Japan, which a couple of generations ago was still in the grip of feudalism, has become a modern industrial country, able to hold its own and even compete with the Western nations. If the Japanese can do this, why not the Mohammedan peoples? The answer intelligent Mohammedans give is that political dependence prevents progress, and will continue to do so until national sovereignty is an accomplished fact. It is highly significant, however, that out of the 227,000,000 Mohammedans in the world today only about 30,000,000 are inhabitants of politically independent States, namely, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan; yet the position of these three countries is still far from favorable to national development.

From the standpoint of world peace it will be a great step forward when the Mohammedan peoples, in common with all the peoples of the East, succeed in their national aspirations. Just as long as opportunities for exploitation exist in back-

ward and undeveloped countries, discord is liable to break out among those who seek these advantages. There would be no so-called problems of the East if there were no concessions and other prizes of business endeavor for European financiers and industrial magnates to dispute about. The surest way to remove friction is the creation of independent nations which would control their own sources of wealth. On a rough calculation the total number of inhabitants in all the countries where the West is exploiting the East is somewhere about one billion. Given the freedom to order their own affairs, to bring about their own industrial development, and thereby contribute more largely both as producers and consumers to the business of the whole world, the peoples of the Orient will be a greater source of profit than under the present system. Stripped of its religious and patriotic wrappings, this is the real aim which inspires the nationalist leaders in all Mohammedan countries. Not the triumph of Allah and his Prophet, but unfettered freedom and full scope for economic and social development is the basic fact of Islamic aspirations.

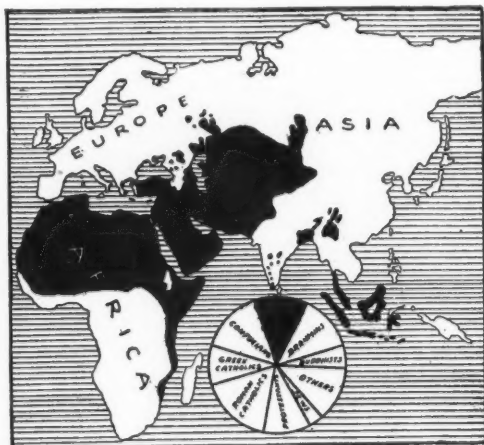


Chart of the Eastern Hemisphere showing the extent of Islam. The black areas indicate Moslem countries, and the black sector in the circle below shows the proportion of the world's inhabitants now followers of Mohammed

\* See, for example, the references to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and to the forced labor of the Arabs in Henry Woodhouse's article on the Anglo-Indian-Turkish Crisis, in *CURRENT HISTORY*, May, 1922.

# THE PALESTINE MANDATE

*Full text of the charter under which the Holy Land will henceforth be ruled—The British official Order in Council*

THE mandate for Palestine was approved by the Council of the League of Nations in London on July 22, 1922. The French mandate for Syria was approved at the same time. The confirmation of these Class A mandates resulted in the final launching of the whole mandate project under the control of the League of Nations, all mandates under the B and C classes having been previously confirmed.

The history of the Palestine mandate had been marked by many obstacles, including opposition of the Arabs in Palestine\* and protests of the Pope regarding the possession and control of the holy places; the mandate had been strongly opposed and even voted against by the House of Lords (June 21), only to be upheld by the House of Commons on July 4. Assurance was given the Pope by the British Government that the rights of all religious bodies in Palestine would be fully respected, and similar assurances to the Arabs were voiced by Lord Balfour, who had sponsored the mandate project when it was first enunciated in 1917. The adoption of the mandate was hailed with joy by the Zionist organization, and the event was declared by its members to be of momentous importance in the history of the Jewish race. The text in full is as follows:

## PALESTINE MANDATE

*Whereas* the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a mandatory selected by the said powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly be-

\*The Palestine Government on Aug. 27, 1922, issued a communiqué in answer to the statement made shortly before at the Arab Congress that Trans-Jordania was to be taken over by the mandatory as part of the mandate project. The communiqué pointed out Great Britain's right to do this under Article 25 of the mandate, and declared she would exercise this right at the proper time. Trans-Jordania has been for some time under the rule of Emir Abdullah.

longed to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

*Whereas* the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on Nov. 2, 1917, by the Government of his Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

*Whereas* recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

*Whereas* the Principal Allied Powers have selected his Britannic Majesty as the mandatory for Palestine; and

*Whereas* the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

*Whereas* his Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

*Whereas* by the aforementioned Article 22 (Paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control, or administration, to be exercised by the mandatory not having been previously agreed upon by the members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

**ARTICLE 1.**—The mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

**ARTICLE 2.**—The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

**ARTICLE 3.**—The mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

## JEWISH IMMIGRATION

**ARTICLE 4.**—An appropriate Jewish agency



shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are, in the opinion of the mandatory, appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps, in consultation with his Britannic Majesty's Government, to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

**ARTICLE 5.**—The mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of the Government of any foreign power.

**ARTICLE 6.**—The Administration of Palestine, while insuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including tSate lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

**ARTICLE 7.**—The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

**ARTICLE 8.**—The immunities and privileges of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection, as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine. Unless the powers whose nationals enjoyed the aforementioned privileges and immunities on Aug. 1, 1914, have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately re-established in their entirety, or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the powers concerned.

**ARTICLE 9.**—The mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their judicial rights. Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities, and for their religious interests, shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of the Wakis shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

**ARTICLE 10.**—Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the mandatory and other foreign powers shall apply to Palestine.

**ARTICLE 11.**—The Administration of Pales-

tine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

**ARTICLE 12.**—The mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine, and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

#### THE HOLY PLACES

**ARTICLE 13.**—All responsibility in connection with the holy places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights, of securing free access to the holy places, religious buildings and sites, and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the mandatory, who will be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected therewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the mandatory from entering into such arrangement as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

**ARTICLE 14.**—A special commission shall be appointed by the mandatory to study and define the rights and claims in connection with the holy places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

**ARTICLE 15.**—The mandatory shall see that



complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are insured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

**ARTICLE 16.**—The mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

**ARTICLE 17.**—The Administration of Palestine may organize on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defense of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified, save with the consent of the mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of forces maintained by the mandatory. The mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

**ARTICLE 18.**—The mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws), as compared with those of the mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the mandatory, impose such taxes and Customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the mandatory, conclude a special Customs agreement with any State, the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

**ARTICLE 19.**—The mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication, or literary, artistic, or industrial property.

**ARTICLE 20.**—The mandatory shall co-operate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social, and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

#### ANTIQUITIES.

**ARTICLE 21.**—The mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall insure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall replace the former Ottoman Law of Antiquities, and shall insure equality of treatment in the matter of archaeological research to the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations:

1. "Antiquity" means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year 1700.

2. The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat. Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorization referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

3. No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent department, unless this department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity. No antiquity may leave the country without an export license from the said department.

4. Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

5. No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorized by the competent department.

6. Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archaeological interest.

7. Authorization to excavate shall be granted only to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archaeological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorizations, act in such a way as to eliminate scholars of any nation without good grounds.

8. The proceeds of excavation may be divided between the excavator and the competent department in a proportion fixed by that department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

**ARTICLE 22.**—English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic, on stamps or money in Palestine, shall be repeated in Hebrew, and a statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

**ARTICLE 23.**—The Administration of Palestine shall recognize the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

**ARTICLE 24.**—The mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

**ARTICLE 25.**—In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine [i. e., Trans-Jordania] as ultimately determined the mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16 and 18.

**ARTICLE 26.**—The mandatory agrees that if any dispute whatever should arise between the mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretations or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiations, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

**ARTICLE 27.**—The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

**ARTICLE 28.**—In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantees of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honor the financial obligations, legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations, and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all members of the League.

#### HOW PALESTINE WILL BE GOVERNED

The Palestine Order in Council was promulgated by the British Government Sept. 11, 1922. The following paragraph

from the official text explains the powers of the High Commissioner:

#### POWERS OF HIGH COMMISSIONER

The High Commissioner shall do and execute in due manner all things that shall belong to the said office, according to the tenor of any Orders in Council relating to Palestine and of such commission as may be issued to him under His Majesty's Sign Manual and Signet, and according to such instructions as may from time to time be given to him, for the purpose of executing the provisions of the mandate, under His Majesty's Sign Manual and Signet, or by Order of His Majesty in Council or by His Majesty through one of His Principal Secretaries of State, and to such laws and ordinances as are now or shall hereafter be in force in Palestine.

Provision is made for the election of a Legislative Council to act as a ruling body, to consist of twenty-two members and a High Commissioner, to be elected by popular vote. The form of oath of the members of the Legislature is as follows: "..... do swear that I will be faithful and loyal to the Government of Palestine, so help me God."

Provision is made for constituting civil courts, consisting of Magistrates' Courts, District Courts, Criminal Courts, Land Courts, Supreme Courts. Provision is made for courts of religious communities, determining suits regarding marriage, divorce, and so forth; also for Moslem Religious Courts which have exclusive jurisdiction of personal status of Moslems; also Rabbinical Courts, having jurisdiction in matters of marriage, divorce, and so forth, as well as matters of personal status where all the parties to the action consent to the jurisdiction; also Christian Religious Courts having similar jurisdiction. When there is a question involving persons of different religious communities, the Chief Justice shall decide which court shall have jurisdiction.

With respect to the question of deportation, the following provision is made:

Where it is shown by evidence on oath to the satisfaction of the High Commissioner, that any person is conducting himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order in Palestine, or is endeavoring to excite enmity between the people of Palestine and the mandatory, or is intriguing against the authority of the mandatory in Palestine, the High Commissioner may, if he thinks fit, by order under his hand and official seal, order that person to be deported

from Palestine to such place as the High Commissioner may direct.

The following general provisions are of interest:

All His Majesty's officers, civil and military, and all other inhabitants of Palestine are hereby required and commanded to be obedient, aiding and assisting unto the High Commissioner and to such person or persons as may from time to time, under the provisions of this order, administer the Government of Palestine.

All ordinances, official notices and official forms of the Government and all official notices of local authorities and municipalities in areas to be prescribed by order of the High Commissioner, shall be published in English, Arabic and Hebrew. The three languages may be used in debates and discussions in the Legislative Council, and, subject to any regulations to be made from time to time, in the Government offices and the law courts.

All persons in Palestine shall enjoy full liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their forms of worship subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. Each religious community recognized by the Government shall enjoy autonomy for the internal affairs of the community subject to the provisions of any ordinance or order issued by the High Commissioner.

The High Commissioner shall confer upon all

matters relating to the regulation of immigration with a committee consisting of not less than one-half of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, and provision shall be made by Order in Council for investing the said committee with all such powers and authorities and otherwise for the constitution and conduct of the business of the said committee, as may be necessary to carry this article into effect.

In the event of any difference of opinion between the High Commissioner and the said committee upon any such matter as aforesaid, the High Commissioner shall make a full report on the subject to a Secretary of State, whose decision thereon shall be final.

If any religious community or considerable section of the population in Palestine complains that the terms of the mandate are not being fulfilled by the Government of Palestine, it shall be entitled to present a memorandum through a member of the Legislative Council to the High Commissioner. Any memorandum so submitted shall be dealt with in such manner as may be prescribed by His Majesty in conformity with the procedure recommended by the Council of the League of Nations.

The Order in Council shall not apply to such parts of the territory comprised in Palestine to the East of the Jordan and the Dead Sea as shall be defined by order of the High Commissioner.

## LITHUANIA'S RIGHT TO MEMEL

By A CORRESPONDENT

*To the Editor of Current History:*

**W**HEN the peace terms of the late war were drawn up and published there was a provision which dealt with the strip of Germany north of the Memel River, including the Port of Memel. In accordance with this provision the Memel region was ceded to the allied and associated powers, pending the final settlement of the question. In reply to German protests against the Versailles Treaty as a whole, the Allies stated that this Memel district had always been Lithuanian territory and intimated that it would be turned over to Lithuania just as soon as conditions warranted. Since then the allied nations have done practically nothing to arrive at a final settlement, and propaganda to have the district made into a free State has been encouraged by enemies of Lithuania.

The Allies had a plausible reason for not transferring this port to Lithuania immediately, as conditions in Lithuania were far from stable, and Lithuania had not

then been recognized as an independent nation. Now, however, all the principal powers of the world, including the United States, have recognized the complete independence of Lithuania, and it would seem inconsistent to hold any longer in abeyance the final disposition of the Memel question. True enough, historically this region has always been Lithuanian and geographically the port should belong to Lithuania. The Memel River forms the natural boundary between Lithuania and Germany, and to attempt to bottle up Lithuania by making Memel a free State would be utter folly. Instead of trying to separate the two nations, it would have the effect of driving Lithuania into the dominating arms of Germany.

To apply the same solution here as in the case of Danzig is totally impracticable. It is time that international jealousies and intrigues should give way to practical reasoning and common sense.

*Schenectady, N. Y., Sept. 22, 1922.*

# RUSSIA'S TREATY WITH TURKEY

*Text of the agreement under which Soviet Russia accepted Mustapha Kemal's maximum demands regarding abrogation of the capitulations, Turkey's rights to the Straits, and cancellation of the Turkish debt to Russia*



By

ALEXANDER  
NAZAROFF

Former Vice Director of General  
Wrangel's Press Bureau at  
Constantinople



The important treaty published herewith was translated by Mr. Nazarov from the Russian text issued by the Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in its "Collection of Active Treaties, Agreements and Conventions Concluded Between the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and Foreign Governments," Vol. 2 (Treaties ratified to Dec. 1, 1921), Moscow, 1921.

THE Russo-Turkish Treaty, which has hitherto been considered a dead letter, acquires a new significance with the developments now taking place in the Near East.

The Sèvres attempt at liquidating the Ottoman Empire, and especially the Greek occupation of Anatolia, stirred Turkey's national and religious emotions, aroused a storm of indignation, and consolidated the whole Turkish Nation, which had been crushed by the humiliating defeat in the World War. The national movement, started in 1908 and brought to failure in 1914-1918, was regenerated: its former leaders—Enver Pasha, Talaat Pasha and others—were discredited, and had to withdraw to the background; nationalist ideas acquired new significance, and new men arose to carry them out. Mustapha Kemal fulfilled what was started by the Young Turks of Saloniki. The Grand National Assembly at Angora sits in the building which some ten years ago was taken over by the "Ittikhad" ("Union and Progress") party as its provincial club. Thus, while the Allies were "controlling" at Constantinople the Sèvres phantom of Turkey, the real Turkey shifted to Angora and developed there an essentially nationalistic State.

The Angora-Moscow Treaty reflects the aspirations of that new political entity, and has a far wider scope than any ordinary agreement between two neighboring

countries. These aspirations may be characterized as follows:

First of all, the abrogation of the capitulatory régime (see Article 7). This has always been the dream of the Turkish Nationalists. On the eve of the entry of Turkey into the World War, the Sublime Porte addressed to the powers a note abrogating the capitulations. Throughout the war the capitulations did not exist. They were also repudiated by Angora, and thus for eight years a new régime prevailed. The Turkish press is unanimous in asserting that there can be no return to this institution; this view is shared not only by the Angora Yenigun and Teshkilati-millie, by the Constantinople Ikdam (the old Unionist organ) and Tefkidi-Efhiair, but even by the moderate Peiamy-Sabakh, whose connections with the pro-British party of the "Entente Libérale" are above suspicion. Capitulations are incompatible with Ottoman sovereignty—such is the general Turkish view. Can we expect Mustapha Kemal Pasha to restore to foreigners their privileges based on the capitulatory system at a moment when he and the whole nation are intoxicated with victory, when Turkey is stronger than ever before since the days of the Crimean War, and when her enemies are weaker than ever in the course of the nineteenth century?

The second point of the Moscow agreement is also suggestive of Turkish aspirations. The Angora Government under-



takes in virtue of Article 5 to "guarantee the freedom of the Straits," but "on condition that" the decisions referring to this question "shall not prejudice the absolute sovereignty and the safety of Turkey, and of her capital, Constantinople." The "definitive and international status of the Straits" must be elaborated by "a conference of the delegates from all the riverain States," that is to say, not only Turkey, but also Georgia, Russia, Ukraine, Rumania and Bulgaria. No effective control over the Straits can be expected from these other countries, and the real meaning of this article is that the Straits must remain in Turkish hands. Such is the Turkish "maximum program."

The third point of international interest is the abrogation of the financial obligations of Turkey to the former Russian Imperial Government (Article 6). This is again the "maximum program." We should not forget that the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt is an institution whose financial rôle is equivalent to the political rôle of the capitulations. It is hardly conceivable that Mustapha Kemal would try to dismiss the Ottoman debts owed to the Allies in the way Lenin did it for Russia. But it is also hardly conceivable that he would not oppose the right of the "Administration" to control, as formerly, the revenues of the Ottoman Treasury.

Such are the main points elucidating the "maximum program" of the Nationalist Ankara Government.

The treaty also discloses the policy of Soviet Russia toward Turkey. Mr. Tchitcherin formulated it at a meeting of the Communist members of the Eighth Congress of Soviets, which preceded the signature of the Moscow Treaty. He said: "A policy of compromises in the East leading to understanding with the Oriental nationalistic States which are struggling for their independence against Western imperialism is the basis of our diplomacy in that section of the world. \* \* \* This is necessary in order to oppose a common front to international reaction."

What this "policy of compromise" means can be seen from the treaty. The Soviets gave up all the Russian interests in Turkey, and to this they added impor-

tant territorial concessions: the districts of Kars and Ardahan were ceded to Turkey, the district of Nakhitchevan was made autonomous and placed under the protection of the pro-Turkish Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, while the Port of Batum was opened unreservedly to Turkish commerce and transit. By these concessions and sacrifices the Soviets are trying to induce the Western powers to follow the example of Moscow. It is clear that Soviet diplomacy would fully support the most far-reaching demands of Turkey, should Mustapha Kemal Pasha formulate them.

Thus if the late Treaty of Sèvres was intended to reduce Turkey to nothing, the Moscow treaty conceives her swollen to proportions unparalleled in the nineteenth century. No one can say how far Turkey will succeed in the realization of her "maximum program," but it is clear that the Allies, who aimed in 1919 and 1920 at crushing Turkey, now find their vital interests seriously threatened by the victorious Kemalist army.

#### TEXT OF THE TREATY

The Moscow treaty was signed on March 16, 1921. A few days later (March 28), a convention regulating the repatriation of military and civil prisoners was added to it. It was ratified by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on March 20, and by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on July 22 of the same year. The ratifications were exchanged on Sept. 22. The text of the treaty follows:

Sharing the principle of the brotherhood of nations and of the rights of the peoples to self-determination, and confirming the solidarity which unites them in the struggle against imperialism, as well as the fact that any difficulties raised before one of the two peoples are liable to complicate the situation of the other, the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, on the one hand, and the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, on the other, animated by the desire to establish lasting and cordial relations, and by a continuous and sincere friendship based on their mutual interests, have decided to conclude with one another a treaty of friendship and brotherhood, and have appointed with this object as their plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. [Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic]: GEORGE VASSILIEVITCH TCHITCHERIN, People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs and Member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee,

and DJELAL-EDDIN KORKMASSOFF, Member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee; and the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey: YUSSUF KEMAL BEY, People's Commissary for National Economy of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Deputy from Kastamun to the aforesaid Assembly; DR. RIZA NUR BEY, People's Commissary for Education of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Deputy from Sinop to the aforesaid Assembly; ALI FUAD PASHA, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Deputy from Angora to the aforesaid Assembly.

These plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their respective credentials, which were found to be in due and legal form, have come to the following agreement:

**ARTICLE 1**—Neither contracting party will recognize treaties or international acts which are imposed by force on the other party. The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. agrees to recognize no such international acts concerning Turkey that have not been recognized by the Nationalist Turkish Government as represented by the Grand National Assembly.

The frontiers of Turkey are understood in this treaty to include all the territories enumerated in the National Turkish Pact which were agreed to and proclaimed by the Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 28, 1920 (1336 Turkish calendar), in Constantinople. The text of this pact was communicated to the press as well as to all the powers.

The northeastern boundary line of Turkey is specified as follows: This line starts from the Village of Sarp on the Black Sea coast, crosses the mountain Khedis-Mta, and follows the watershed line of the mountains Shavshet\* and Kanni-Dag. Thence it follows the northern administrative frontier of the sanjaks of Ardahan and Kars, and the bed of the rivers Arpa-Tchai and Arax, thus reaching the mouth of the Lower Kara-Ssu (Appendix I, A and B).

**ARTICLE 2**—Turkey agrees to cede to Georgia the suzerainty over the Ctiy and the Port of Batum, as well as over the territories north of the frontier, which are specified in Article 1 of the present treaty and which form part of the Batum district, on condition that

1. The population of the territories defined in this article shall enjoy a broad administrative autonomy which will secure to every community the respect of its religious and cultural rights; the population shall be granted the possibility of enacting such agrarian laws as it may wish to enjoy.

2. Turkey shall be permitted full use of the Port of Batum for the transit of all imported and exported merchandise, free of custom dues or any levies. This right of Turkey shall be hampered by no regulations, and no special taxes shall be exacted from her for the use of this port.

**ARTICLE 3**—The two contracting parties agree that the district of Nakhitchewan, the frontiers of which are specified in Appendix I. (C) of

the present treaty, shall form an autonomous territory under the protectorate of Azerbaijan, provided Azerbaijan shall cede this protectorate to no other country.

The triangular territory of Nakhitchewan is formed by the line which follows the bed of the river Arax, and passes by the mountains Dachna (3829), Veli Dag (4121), Bagarzik (6587), Kemurlu Dag (6930), and Serai-Bulak (8071). Thence it reaches the station Ararat, and rejoins Arax at the crossing with Kara-Ssu. A commission of delegates from Turkey, Azerbaijan and Armenia will fix this line laid down above.

**ARTICLE 4**—Recognizing that the national movements in the Orient are similar to and in harmony with the struggle of the Russian workmen for the new social order, the two contracting parties assert solemnly the rights of these peoples to freedom, independence and free choice of such forms of government as they themselves desire to have.

**ARTICLE 5**—With a view to guaranteeing the freedom of the Straits and their free passage for commercial purposes to all countries, both parties agree to entrust to a special conference, composed of the delegates from all the riverain States, the drafting of the definitive and international status of the Black Sea and of the Straits, on condition that its decisions shall not prejudice the absolute sovereignty and the safety of Turkey and of her capital, Constantinople.

**ARTICLE 6**—Both parties recognize that all the treaties theretofore concluded between them do not correspond to their reciprocal interests. Therefore, they agree to consider the aforesaid treaties void and abrogated. The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. declares, in particular, that it considers Turkey free from any financial or other obligations based on international treaties concluded between Turkey and the Government of the Czar.

**ARTICLE 7**—The Government of the R. S. F. S. R. considers the capitulatory régime to be incompatible with the free national development, and with the sovereignty of any country, and it regards all the rights and acts relating in any way to this régime as annulled and abrogated.\*

**ARTICLE 8**—Both contracting parties undertake not to allow on their respective territories the formation and the sojourn of groups that would lay claim to the rôle of Government in the country of the other party, or in a part of it, as well as of groups that intend to struggle against the other party. Russia and Turkey assume analogous obligations based on the principle of reciprocity with regard to the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics. It is agreed that Turkish territory, as defined in this article, is understood to include only that part of the country which is under the direct military and civil administration

\* The Turkish text refers specially to Turkey, viz., "The \* \* \* Soviet Republic, recognizing that the régime of the capitulations is incompatible with the national development of Turkey, as well as with the full exercise of its sovereign rights, considers null and void the exercise in Turkey of all functions and of all rights under the capitulatory régime."

\*Chevchet in the Turkish text.

of the Government of the Grand National Assembly.

**ARTICLE 9**—With the object of facilitating intercourse between their respective countries, both parties agree to take in concert with each other all measures necessary to maintain and develop within the shortest possible time railway, telegraphic and other ways of communication. [Measures will also be taken to secure the free and unhampered traffic of passengers and commodities between the two countries. It is understood, however, that the passenger traffic, as well as the export and import of commodities, will be subject in every country to the regulations existing to that effect.]\*

**ARTICLE 10**—Citizens of each of the contracting parties living on the territory of the other contracting party will share all the rights and obligations based on the laws of the country in which they sojourn, with the exception of the obligations relating to the national defense, of which they shall be free. Questions relating to family law and to the law of inheritance, as well as to the juridical competency of the citizens of both countries, shall also make an exception to the stipulations of this article, and shall be regulated by a special convention.

**ARTICLE 11**—Both parties agree to accord the most-favored treatment to the citizens of each party residing on the territory of the other party. The stipulations of the present article apply neither to the citizens of the Soviet Republics allied to Russia, nor to the citizens of the Moslem countries allied to Turkey.

**ARTICLE 12**—Every resident of the territories which prior to 1918 formed part of Russia, and which by virtue of the present treaty are recognized by the Government of the R. S. F. S. R. as passing under the sovereignty of Turkey, shall be free to leave Turkey, taking with him his belongings and property, or an equivalent sum of money. The same right is granted to the residents of Batum, suzerainty over which by virtue of the present treaty is ceded by Turkey to Georgia.

\* The bracketed clauses are omitted by the Turkish version.

**ARTICLE 13**—Russia undertakes to convey, at her own expense, all Turkish military and civil prisoners now in her territory to the Northwestern Turkish frontier. In the Caucasus and in European Russia this shall be carried out within three months from the day of the signature of this treaty, while in Asiatic Russia the time is extended to six months. The details of this repatriation shall be the subject of a special convention to be drawn up immediately after the signature of this treaty.\*

**ARTICLE 14**—Both contracting parties agree to conclude in the nearest future a Consular agreement, as well as such treaties regulating economic, financial and other questions, as are necessary for the establishment of the reciprocal friendly relations outlined in the introduction of this treaty.

**ARTICLE 15**—Russia undertakes to take all steps necessary to secure the recognition by the Transcaucasian Republics, in special treaties which they are to conclude with Turkey, of such stipulations of the present treaty as relate directly to them.

**ARTICLE 16**—The present treaty is subject to ratification. The ratifications shall be exchanged at Kars in the shortest possible time. With the exception of Article 13, the present treaty will become valid from the moment of exchange of ratifications.

The above-mentioned plenipotentiaries certify the stipulations contained in this treaty by appending hereto their signatures and by the appending of their seals.

Done in two copies on March 16, 1921 (1337, Turkish calendar), at Moscow.

(For Russia)

GEORGI TCHITCHERIN,  
DJELAL KORKMASSOFF.

(For Turkey)

YUSSUF KEMAL,  
DR. RIZA NUR,  
ALI FUAD.

\* The Turkish version, representing obviously a later addition, makes the agreement mutual, viz., "Turkey enters into a similar agreement respecting Russian prisoners of war and civil prisoners who are still in Turkey."

## POLISH MISDEEDS IN EAST GALICIA

By THE REV. ALEXANDER PRYSTAY

To the Editor of Current History:

IT seems to me not to be without interest to the readers of CURRENT HISTORY to know how many Ukrainian priests, monks, sisters and theological students were arrested by the Poles at the time that Ukrainian territory was invaded by General Haller's army in 1919-20, and also the record of those killed. The official records of two Ukrainian Catholic dioceses—Lwiv and Stanislaviw (Lemberg and

Stanislav), for 1921 and 1922, are as follows:

	Priests Arrested	Priests Killed
Lwiv, Lemberg diocese.....	291	3*
Stanislaviw diocese .....	82	2†
Sisters of St. Basil's Order.....	41	..
Monks of St. Basil's Order.....	44	..
Theological students .....	4	..
Total .....	462	5

303 Jane Street, Carnegie, Pa., Sept. 20, 1922.

\*Rev. Joseph Zatorsky, Rev. Ostap Nizankovskii, Rev. Justyn Sucharowsky.

†Rev. Zacharias Podyashewsky of Monastyrsk, Rev. Adalbert Halibay of Stanislav.

# TURKEY'S "NATIONAL PACT"

*Text of the Angora Parliament's irreducible "bill of rights," on which Mustapha Kemal insisted at the Mudania conference—Basic document that demands restoration of lost territories, a plebiscite for Western Thrace, abrogation of capitulations, recognition of full Turkish sovereignty*

THE brief document known as the "National Pact," in which Nationalist Turkey's maximum and minimum demands are embodied, has had but little circulation outside of Turkey. Its importance has been tremendously increased by the victories of Mustapha Kemal, head of the Angora Government, over the Greek armies in Asia Minor, for the demands which it lays down are the war demands of Mustapha, which he has declared he will insist on unflinchingly at any peace conference in which he may take part. At the armistice conference in Mudania he stood firmly on the demands of the National Pact. "It represented our program when we were weak," he declared, "and now that we are strong it still represents our program. We shall not stop fighting until we have given effect to every syllable of it, and we shall sheath our swords as soon as we have realized the pact. We stand or fall by the National Pact."

This fundamental charter of the new Turkey was drafted by a Nationalist Party caucus at Sivas, Asia Minor, on Sept. 13, 1919. Mustapha Kemal was one of its main authors. On July 11 he had been outlawed by the Damad Ferid Ministry at Constantinople. Damad Ferid fell on Oct. 5 of the same year, whereupon Mustapha Kemal telegraphed the text of the pact to the new Ali Riza Ministry in Constantinople. The Ministry, at the behest of the Sultan, ordered elections for a new Parliament. The Parliament thus elected convened on Jan. 11, 1920. Its lower house adopted the pact on Jan. 28. A few weeks later the British took active steps to stem the rising Nationalist tide. On the night of March 15-16, a number of the Nationalist Deputies were arrested

by British and Indian troops and deported to Malta. The rest of the Chamber of Deputies broke up on April 12. The Grand National Assembly—the present active Government of Turkey—held its first session at Angora on April 23, 1920. This Assembly's sole purpose, according to Kemal, is the execution of the pact, in the absence of any legal Ottoman Parliament at Constantinople capable of realizing these national aims.

## TEXT OF THE NATIONAL PACT

The text of the pact, as translated from a French copy furnished by Yusuf Kemal Bey, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, reads as follows:

The Deputies of the Ottoman Parliament, having approved and signed the National Pact, of which we give below the copy, declare the principles therein announced to be the limit of sacrifice to which the Ottoman Parliament can consent to go in order to assure itself a just and lasting peace:

**ARTICLE 1**—Those territories of the Ottoman Empire populated by an Arab majority and being at the time of the armistice (Oct. 31, 1918), occupied by the enemy armies, shall be ruled according to the will of the local populations. [These territories are Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Egypt.]

Those parts of the empire situated on the armistice line inhabited by a Moslem majority, united by religious and cultural ties and animated by a similar desire for the establishment of their ethnical rights, form a complete whole with us which shall suffer under no pretext whatsoever any dissociation. [The territories here referred to are those of Cilicia, which was recovered by the Franco-Turkish agreement of Oct. 20, 1921, and the Mosul province of Mesopotamia, which the British hold.]

**ARTICLE 2**—In the case of the three sanjaks which united themselves to us by vote when they were first free, we accept a second plebiscite if necessary. [These are the sanjaks of Kars, Ardahan and Batum in the Caucasus; the Turkish frontiers here are mapped in annexes to the Russo-Turkish Treaty and the Treaty of Kars,



drawn between the Angora Government on the one hand and the Caucasian Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan on the other.]

**ARTICLE 3**—The juridical status of Western Thrace, which has been made dependent on the Turkish peace, shall be effected in accordance with a free plebiscite.

**ARTICLE 4**—The security of the City of Constantinople, which is the seat of the Caliphate of Islam, the capital of the Sultanate and the headquarters of the Ottoman Government, and the security of the Sea of Marmora must be effected. This necessity once admitted, the Ottoman Deputies are ready to subscribe to any decision which may be taken by the Imperial Government, on the one hand, and the interested powers, on the other, with a view to assuring the opening of the Straits to world commerce and international communication.

**ARTICLE 5**—The rights of minorities will be

confirmed by us on the same basis as is established in other countries by conventions hitherto concluded between the powers of the Entente, their adversaries and certain of their associates—in reliance on the belief that the Moslem minorities of other countries will benefit from similar guarantees.

**ARTICLE 6**—With a view to assuring our national and economic development, and giving the country a more regular and more modern administration, the signatories of the present pact consider the possession of complete independence and liberty as the sine qua non of our national existence. In consequence, we oppose all juridical or financial restrictions of any nature which would arrest our national development. [This refers to the capitulations, which give foreigners in Turkey something like a diplomatic status.]

The conditions of settlement of our proved debts shall likewise not be contrary to these principles.

## THE CHIEF CAUSE OF CRIMINALITY

By GRACE SCOTT

*To the Editor of Current History:*

**T**HE article on "What Shall We Do to Stop Crime?" in your September issue has been read with deep interest. It is certainly excellent as far as it goes. It does not, however, begin back far enough. It should begin at the cradle, for while the law, if properly enforced, may stop criminals from committing the major crimes, it cannot eliminate the ever-increasing number of potential criminals. For instance, the Prohibition law has been accused of "making" law-breakers. It could not have made a criminal out of any man or woman who was not a very good subject, a thoroughly potential criminal.

The fact is that in cities there seems to be an ever-increasing lack of respect for the rights of others, and this has its inception not only in the teaching, but in the example, of parents. The child is permitted to encroach on the rights of others, often without even admonition enough to

call its attention to the fact that it is doing so. Worse yet, parents openly boast of "breaking the speed limit," and other similar minor offenses, which in themselves would often do little harm were it not for their effect in teaching the offspring to disregard the law.

Again, the child is frequently taught to regard the policeman—the representative of law and order—as a natural enemy; the policeman is even used as a bogey man to enforce a haphazard control, where parents haven't sufficient personality or pep to command obedience from even small children. The child's viewpoint is thus warped in the wrong direction as regards law and order before it has begun actually to think at all. \* \* \* Possibly a campaign on "Respecting the Rights of Others" in the schools throughout the country might be conducive of a better understanding of moral fundamentals in this country.

304 Ford Building, Detroit, Mich., Oct. 2, 1922.

# WHAT WOMEN WANT

By ELIZABETH TILTON

National Legislative Chairman, Congress of Mothers  
and Parent-Teacher Association



*The aim of American women in welfare work, and how they can attain it—Questionnaire submitted to the women leaders of the United States, and their responses—How women must organize to achieve their ends*



(Photo by Bachrach)

ELIZABETH TILTON

[Mrs. Tilton is Chairman of the Committee to Investigate the Results of Prohibition of the Boston Family Welfare Association; she also represents the Congress of Mothers on the Women's Advisory Committee of the United States Public Health Service. The questionnaire here published was sent to the Presidents and legislative Chairmen of the Parent-Teacher Association]

**I**N an effort to find out what legislation interests the women leaders of this country, and how effective they are in seeing it through, a questionnaire on important issues was sent to Presidents and legislative Chairmen of large women's organizations, and to various distinguished women, college Presidents, lawyers and others, who are giving their thought to the constructive movements of the time. These opinions of the leading women in many sections of the United States indicate what the thinking women by the ten thousands are striving for. Organizers recognize the fact that the average man and woman does very little thinking outside his or her personal affairs. When they do have to act on public questions, they usually follow the leaders of their community. The questionnaires were sent only to twenty-nine States, where the leaders were personally known to me. Twenty-five States answered: Maine, New Hamp-

shire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, North Dakota, Minnesota, Idaho, California and Arizona.

Edmund Burke said, just after the French Revolution, that when the world seems to have gone to the dogs, and civilization a losing game, a good thing to do is to stop groaning about it and ally yourself with the constructive movements of the time. The answers to this questionnaire from women leaders certainly show that the women in our nation are doing precisely that, allying themselves wholeheartedly with the constructive movements of the time.

## PEACE

The first question was on peace. It was placed first because it is manifest that other causes cannot continue to grow for-

ever in a civilization killing itself off by constant wars waged on modern lines. The questions on peace were as follows:

#### DO YOU FAVOR?

1. Participation in Permanent Court of International Justice? *Yes, 23.*
2. Entering the present League of Nations? *Yes, 9.*
3. Entering some lasting League of Nations? *Yes, 20.*
4. World isolation?—That is, for the United States to keep apart, leaving the rest of the world to manage its own affairs? *Yes, 3. No, 20. (Ohio, Indiana and Idaho answered "mostly.")*
5. Outlawing war?—That is, for the nations to meet and prohibit war as we have prohibited liquor? *Yes, 21.*
6. (a) Prohibiting manufacture of munitions by private interests? *Yes, 16.*  
(b) Prohibiting all military toys? *Yes, 15.*  
(This question proved annoying to several who wrote after it, "Foolish." They had evidently not read James Harvey Robinson's "Mind in the Making," in which he shows what potent prejudice-makers are the impressions received in childhood, how they set up obstacles to new thinking.)
7. How do you think your State would vote:  
(a) For world organization?  
(b) For world isolation?

Those who believed that their State would vote for world organization were as follows: Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas and Arizona, ten in all. Indiana did not think that that State would vote for world organization, nor did Idaho. Minnesota said: "We would follow Republicans." West Virginia said: "We are very shy of foreign entanglements." Pennsylvania: "We fear we should vote for world isolation. Pennsylvania is very reactionary." New York: "We don't think New York State would have the remotest idea of what it was voting about." New Hampshire: "Follow politicians." Texas: "Hope, but don't know that we should vote for world organization."

In short, the answers to the above questionnaire would seem to indicate, first: That the women leaders everywhere are awake to the peace question; second, that up to date, though there is some belief in world isolation among us, the desire to internationalize is far in the lead of the near-nationalistic idea that would have the

Western Hemisphere retire to its own waters and live apart, letting the rest of the world drift in and out of war. If there is a Republican contingent that plans to run "a gentleman of Indiana" for President of the United States on a near-nationalistic platform six years from now, they apparently have a good deal of work to do with the women leaders of the nation.

#### PROHIBITION—

1. Keeping the present Federal laws for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, with no weakening of the Volstead act that would readmit wine and beer, or otherwise loosen enforcement? *Yes, 24.* (Every woman leader in the twenty-four States answered "Yes" except Ohio, which left the answer blank.)
2. How do you think your State would vote:  
(a) To keep prohibition and build up enforcement?  
(b) To readmit wine and beer?  
(c) To repeal the entire prohibition amendment?

The answers by States are as follows:

State.	To Keep Prohibition and Build up Enforcement	To Re- admit Wine and Beer	To Repeal Entire Amendment
Maine .....	Yes	....	....
New Hampshire...	Yes	....	....
Vermont .....	Yes	....	....
Massachusetts ...	Yes	....	....
New York.....	No	Yes	Yes
Pennsylvania.....	(Opinion divided)		
District of Columbia	Yes (if we voted)		
Maryland .....	No	Yes	No
Virginia .....	Yes	....	....
North Carolina ...	Yes	....	....
Georgia .....	Yes	....	....
Tennessee .....	Yes	....	....
Texas .....	Yes	....	....
West Virginia....	Yes	....	....
Kentucky .....	Yes	....	....
Ohio .....	....	Yes	....
Indiana.....	(Don't know)		
Illinois .....	Yes	....	....
Missouri.....	(Cities wet, State dry)		
Minnesota .....	....	Yes	....
North Dakota ....	Yes	....	....
Arizona .....	Yes	....	....
California .....	....	Yes	....
Idaho .....	Yes	....	....

**BONUS**—1. Bonus for all, able-bodied and disabled? (California voted *Yes*.) 2. Help for disabled only? (All except California voted *Yes*.)

**PRIMARIES**—Keeping the primary system, instead of returning to conventions in which parties nominate their own political candidates? All voted *Yes* except Indiana and West Virginia, which called for modification, and New Hampshire, which was undecided.

**CIVIL SERVICE**—1. Maintaining the present civil service standards? Yes, 18. (Others blank.) 2. Adequate salaries for civil service employes (Lehbach bill)? Yes, 17. (Others blank.)

**BUREAUS**—1. Adequate salaries for the women's and children's bureaus? Yes, 19. 2. Adequate Federal appropriation to carry on home demonstration work (Fess bill)? Yes, 20. (Others blank.)

The average salary for civil service employes is but \$1,175 a year, with thousands of employes drawing \$1,000 or less. (See W. C. T. U. circular.) The Sterling-Lehbach bill would classify the civil service into seven services, with a salary scale based on skill and training required. The same is true of adequate salaries for the women's and children's bureaus. Unless they get their appropriations each year they cannot function.

**PRISON REFORM**—1. Abolish all county penal institutions (jails and so forth), on the ground that efficient and humane prison needs (hospitals, trades schools, outdoor work), are too expensive to be given to a few men housed in the average county jail?

This question proved to be immensely interesting to the women answering the questionnaire, since it is one that has had much attention among the women's organizations. The following resolution was adopted in June, 1922, by the General Federation of Women's Clubs:

**WHEREAS**, The General Federation of Women's Clubs has had brought to its attention, through the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, the incongruities and evils attendant upon the system of maintaining persons convicted of crime in jails under county control; and

**WHEREAS**, This committee has further pointed out the fact that the insane, feeble-minded, tubercular and other persons suffering from infectious or communicable disease are found in the prisons and jails throughout the country, and also pointed out the wholly inefficient and inadequate systems of employing prisoners which are generally prevalent; be it

**RESOLVED**, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs endorse the measure for penal reconstruction outlined by the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, viz.:

1. State control for all convicted persons.
2. The examination of every person convicted of crime, physical, mental and according to work record and previous experience in life; the distribution of such persons to institutions fitted to give them the treatment and training they require; and the

provisions for their release only when ready and able to assume the responsibilities of freedom.

3. The employment of every prisoner at work for which he is fitted and for which he receives a fair wage, over and above the cost of his maintenance, thereby support-



(Photo by Bachrach)

MRS. ELLIS A. YOST,  
Legislative Chairman of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union

ing himself and his dependents while in prison, and being trained to earn an honest living on release.

4. The development of professional standards for penal administration and officers, making selection for such office entirely dependent upon fitness to train the prisoner for return to society; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs urge State Federations to co-operate with the State branches of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor in bringing about the adoption of the fundamental principles of this program by every State in the Union.

Answers to the question, Shall we abolish all county penal institutions? and so forth, are as follows:



Vermont—Yes.	Missouri—Yes.
Massachusetts—Yes.	Kansas—Yes.
Pennsylvania—Yes.	Minnesota—Yes.
West Virginia—Yes.	Ohio—No.
Georgia—Yes.	Tennessee—No.
Indiana—Yes.	Arizona—No.
Illinois—Yes.	



MRS. EDWARD FRANKLIN WHITE,  
Deputy Attorney General, Indianapolis;  
Chairman Department of Legislation, Gen-  
eral Federation of Women's Clubs

#### REMARKS

New York—Not informed.

Maryland—"Our county jails are mostly for prisoners awaiting trial. We are working."

Virginia—"County jails for temporary use only."

Idaho—Not informed on issue.

Kentucky—"For prison reform, but don't know issue."

Minnesota—"Radical reform necessary."

(Others left the answer blank.

**CHILD LABOR**—A uniform child labor law, even if it can be had only through a constitutional amendment? (All the votes were Yes except four, Ohio, Tennessee, Pennsylvania and Georgia. Georgia stated that the

age limit should be lower in the South, where children mature earlier.)

The courts have twice thrown out uniform measures regulating child labor throughout the nation, on the ground that such regulations interfere with the "reserved rights of the States." The American Federation of Labor caused to be introduced on July 26, 1922, a constitutional amendment known as S. J. Resolution 232, reading in part as follows: "The Congress shall have power to regulate the employment and the hours of labor and conditions of employment of persons under 18 years of age."

#### PROTECTION—1. High tariffs for foodstuffs?

No—Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Georgia, Tennessee, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Idaho, Arizona.

Yes—North Dakota, Ohio, West Virginia (not too high).

(The others did not answer.)

#### 2. American valuation tariffs on our imports?

No—Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Missouri, Idaho.

Yes—Maryland, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Arizona, North Dakota.

(Others not voting.)

#### 3. Protection for milk producers by prohibiting interstate shipment of substitutes made of skimmed milk, coconut oil, and so forth. Meant for use in cooking? (Voight bill.)

The Voight bill asks that imitation or filled milk (skimmed milk with coconut oil added to replace the lost fats) be prohibited from interstate commerce—in other words, that the business be killed. The fact is that, during the war, home economics teachers, aided by Government money, taught the women to use for cooking what they deemed proper substitutes—fats and skimmed milk products. Of course they were taught not to give these latter products to babies, and the cans are usually so labeled. The women learned the lesson so well that they went on reducing the cost of eating in peace times by using these substitutes for cooking, bread making and so forth, with the result that the milk producers find a serious competition in the sale of those substitutes not owned by themselves. So a conversation something like this is going on:

**Milk Producers**—You home economics ladies, you will kill babies by advocating these filled milk substitutes. Some mother might use it for her baby, you know!

**Home Economics Ladies**—Some mother might use anything for her baby, but we see no reason to think that substitute products are endangering infant life (neither your skimmed milk products nor the other man's). And we do think it is questionable for you to call for these high tariffs on butter, cream and milk, and then not allow us to teach the women to reduce the higher costs of eating (induced by your tariffs) by using all proper substitutes, fats and milks for cooking purposes.

It is rather a dilemma, for some organizations find themselves on record for the Voight bill, and also for Federal aid for home economics (the Fess bill), and one of the first things that home economics teaches is use of substitutes as a means of reducing costs. A solution would be for the milk producers to amalgamate with the imitation milk producers. No one wants the milk industry harmed. Neither does one want the poor denied possible avenues of cheaper nourishment in the face of higher tariffs on creamery products.

On the Fess Home Economics bill, which provides money to help the States carry on courses in home economics, there were twenty yeas, and no votes against.

On the question of the Voight bill the vote was as follows:

**Yes**—Ohio, New York, Maryland, North Dakota, Minnesota, Virginia, Georgia.

**No**—Missouri, West Virginia (very doubtful), Vermont (points for both sides), Illinois (produce's propaganda), Arizona (no, as long as substitutes are sold as such), Indiana (no, does not protect real milk producers), Tennessee (unless substitute products be sold as advertised genuine products), Massachusetts (milk producers selfish in this; substitutes have their place).

What we need, with rising tariffs on food, is a Congressional investigation of the whole subject, of the use of substitute fats and milks, to see whether they are in any way dangerous to infant life and whether they set up an impossible competition for the milk industry.

#### STRIKES—PASSING LAWS THAT VIRTUALLY PROHIBIT STRIKES?

This proved to be so vital a question that the women tended to write all around it. An epitome of what they said is as follows:

**Yes**—New Hampshire, New York (yes, if rightly drawn); Tennessee, North Carolina (at present I feel it would be good, but better make more stringent immigration laws); Kansas, North Dakota, Idaho, California, Vermont (yes, but believe in some form of labor organizations); Illinois (yes, during period of adjustment); Virginia (yes, if justice is equalized).

**No**—District of Columbia, Missouri, Maryland, Massachusetts (no, but laws must be framed to protect public); Kentucky (not yet, must first be sure labor is properly protected); Pennsylvania (no, labor must have right to protect itself as well as capital); Maine.

Indiana wrote: "Consider labor situation is not one for legislation at the present. It is rather one for 'a Moses to lead us out.' When some plan can be evolved which will really solve the problem, it will then be time for legislation. Whether this will be in the direction of Government ownership of public utilities and natural resources, or of Government control of such or of an arbitration commission to enforce its decisions, I do not know." Summing up the various communications on strikes, it is apparent that, though the women are very sympathetic with labor, they feel that a new entity has arisen—neither capital nor labor, but the public, and that something must be devised to protect that public.

The last three questions read as follows:

#### PHYSICAL TRAINING (Fess-Capper Bill)—

Federal aid to States that pass good physical education laws, for the purpose of getting into every school in the land a good health promotion program? 22 in favor; New York, *No*.

#### PUBLIC SCHOOLS (Towner-Sterling Bill)—

1. A separate department of education? 19 in favor; Maine, *No*.

2. Federal aid for education? 16 in favor; Maine and Arizona, *No*. Maine against Federal aid.

**PUBLIC HEALTH**—Would you favor a law helping all districts (comparable in size to a county) to have at least one whole-time paid health officer? Today 92 per cent. of such districts are without such an officer; some having no health official at all. Most cities, however, have such officers, and this is thought to be a main reason why the death rate is falling three times as fast in the cities as in the country districts. Every State in favor, except Maine, which did not answer.

These last three questions have underneath the same problem, Federal aid. The fact is, the women's organizations are fast centralizing. "With them, it is ceasing to be so much 'my State' as 'my country.'" Concerning the welfare of children they brook no State lines. And since the war

this feeling that State lines must give place to the call of the nation as a whole has been greatly accentuated by those figures of the draft showing that one-fifth of the population could not read a newspaper, and, what was far more deplorable in the minds of the women, that one-third had physical defects that unfitted them for service. Finding out that 80 per cent. of these defects were remediable, the women are determined to get these defects removed, and to get them removed in the backward places just as much as in the cities. This is the object of the Fess-Capper bill, which aims to give Federal aid to States that will pass good physical education laws, bringing to every school child a good chance at physical fitness. It is also the object of the Townner - Sterling bill, which, by the way, includes a physical education clause. Only this bill goes further; it is designed to lift education out of the valley, where it has too long been, on to the heights. To do this there must be better salaries for teachers, better equalization of opportunity, and so forth.

Give every child a chance at education and health. That is the slogan running now through all the women's organizations. And there are only two ways to accomplish this end. Constitutional amendments overriding the reserved rights of the State, or Federal aid buying its way into the States, by offering dollar for dollar aid to States that will go to work at bettering the health and education of their children. The United States cannot order any State to do anything, except as an act

of war, so far as health and education go. The women regret Federal aid, but they see no other way, to bring up the backward districts, and they point out to the rich

States, on which the great burden of taxation for Federal aid falls, that they really get the money back, as so many of their dividends come from the backward States. Therefore, Federal aid does in the end help every State. At least this is the argument of the thousands of women and all the women's organizations en masse that are supporting these Federal aid bills. But Missouri writes that she believes this Federal aid should be temporary. She says: "I would not saddle the centre with eternal boosting, but I do believe in the centre (the pater) giving temporary boosts. For it does make progress move faster."

There is no doubt about it, temporary

Federal aid is needed to bring up the backward districts. Perhaps the way to solve this great Federal aid problem is to make it temporary. With the entrance of women into politics, the call of the State is over, and the call of the race is on. Henry Ward Beecher used to say that when the English language got in his way he was sorry for the English language. The women's idea is very similar — when the reserved rights of the States get in the way of health and education for every child they are sorry for those "reserved rights."

So much, then, for the questions before the women leaders of the country and their reception of the issues involved.



MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.  
President of the National American Woman  
Suffrage Association

They are certainly undaunted by variety, determined on internationalizing, with no shadow of turning back where prohibition is concerned, thinking hard on the strike situation, bent on prison reform, mighty as the battle with county rings is, and absolutely determined to see health and education for everybody through.

Now we come to the last question. How successful is this active-minded, undaunted American woman leader in seeing her issues through? At present women are more successful in upsetting the machine at the polls than in bringing their bills through Congress. Woman is by nature a mugwump. Like some men, she dislikes party rule because party follows power and goes where the most votes are. Woman wishes to go where the ethics are, and, untrammelled by business alliances, she is freer to follow the ethics of the situation. In short, women at the polls are irregulars, and personally I believe that the progressive nominations in the recent primaries in State after State are somewhat due to the presence at the polls of this new army of irregulars let loose by the Nineteenth Amendment.

As to seeing the issues through Congress, I am reminded that, when I was last in Washington, they were telling the story of a Congressman addressing a bevy of ladies on a health bill last Spring.

"It has gone to the bottom in committee, dear ladies," said he. "But, dear sir," said the ladies, "the bill passed three weeks ago, and is now a law." "Oh, well," said he, perfectly unmoved, "we have over two thousand bills down there in Washington, and we can't be expected to keep track of all these 'little fellers.'"

"Little fellers," that is what the women's bills are still, and when you ask why, the answer usually is that, though women understand the soft pedal of politics, club gestures and resolutions, they fight shy of the hard pedal, the technique of vote making, though the soft pedal never landed anything yet. In short, they do not realize the hard work that goes to making a vote. It is not the meeting, but gathering up the sentiment made at the meeting, organizing it and "getting it across," pebble by pebble, to Congress; and then when you have got it there, holding

it in place against the barrage of the enemy—it is this alone that crystallizes sentiment into votes. Women today make the club gesture and then instead of gathering up the sentiment and holding it tort and stiff in Congress against the enemy, they gather up their skirts and flee with a "that's politics." But their intelligence can be counted to carry them in time beyond the club gesture into the real fight for the right. Indeed, the W. C. T. U. never had any illusions about the efficacy of the club gesture. They have always gone to the polls and elected candidates who were dry, defeated candidates who were wet, and gathered up and got across to Congress barrels full of organized sentiment.

Indeed, at the biennial of the Federation of Women's Clubs last June, after these political shudderers had stepped aboard two such political boats as a constitutional amendment and the breaking down of all county control for long-term prisoners throughout the land, a lady rose and told them that, if they were to see their issues through, they simply must leave behind their nervous tremors about touching politics, for politics was simply the medium through which noble causes must pass to come to fruition. I am told this lady was loudly applauded by the convention.

Mrs. Gladstone was once asked why her husband was able to pound into the tough fibre of England so much new legislation. She said she thought it was because in his youth he saw that the only way to accomplish much was to keep to the great central aim and crush out the personalities and pettinesses that cluster round the march of the great aim. He achieved this power not easily, but by great wrestlings and prayer, she said. Hold to the great central aim, and no quarter given to the personalities and pettinesses that will gather round the aim on its march to victory; this is as good advice for the new woman voter of the Nineteenth Amendment as it was for the Grand Old Man of the nineteenth century.

Emerson says, "Success is a constitutional trait." If women can attain the power, as did Gladstone, to keep the central aim and submerge the lesser emotions, they will hold their physique intact and



come in time not only to desire and to gesticulate in resolutions for noble causes, but to see these causes through. Today they are thinking hard and think-



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MARY E. WOOLLEY,  
President of Mount Holyoke College, South  
Hadley, Mass.

ing well, but the drudgery of organizing their thinking to the point where it makes the vote that makes the law, this step they have yet to take in any large way.

## THE "GREEN INTERNATIONAL" OF PRAGUE

THE "Green Armies" of the days of the anti-Bolshevist military campaigns have disappeared, but the spirit that animated them lives on in the "Green International." In Prague, the Capital of Czechoslovakia, there is a central institution, the International Agrarian Bureau, which is to the peasants of the world what the Red International of Moscow is to the Communists of the world. It is in very fact an "International," averse, however, not only to Communism but even to Socialism, and devoted wholly to the interests of the peasant agriculturist class in every nation. It has two main purposes: to bring about the breaking up of large landed estates all

over Europe, and to secure their division in small lots among the peasant in absolute ownership. The organization has ramifications all over Europe. A Russian section works unceasingly to develop this movement in Russia, where peasant class consciousness is said to be steadily gaining strength. The program of the Green International has been backed by some of the best known men in the Europe of today, and it has been strongly represented in the Parliaments of several countries, notably Yugoslavia and Poland, and is now in the ascendant in Bulgaria through the peasant government of Stambolisky.

# SEEKING TO MAKE A NEW LIBERIA

By THE RIGHT REV. W. H. OVERS

Ph. D., F. R. G. S., Bishop of Liberia

*Frank story of a unique experiment in colonization, in the light of the results of a hundred years—The struggle to build a new black nation—Development slow and finances depleted—Plan for American relief*

THE Republic of Liberia is situated on the western coast of Africa, a few degrees north of the Equator, between the British colony of Sierra Leone and the French colony of the Ivory Coast. This republic is about the size of the State of New York and possesses a frontage on the Atlantic Ocean of 360 miles. It is a very significant fact that Liberia is the only place in all the great continent where the black man rules. Its ideal, as expressed in the Constitution, is to be a republic in a land of colonies, an independent Government on a continent of dependencies, a liberty-loving people in a country of slaves.

To go back to the very beginning of the history of Liberia brings us to the latter part of the eighteenth century, to 1781, when Thomas Jefferson advocated the gradual abolition of slavery by enfranchisement, deportation and colonization. At that time many negroes, for one reason or another, were freed. In the year 1800 the number of these freed negroes in America had become sufficiently important to justify an appeal to the Government to purchase land for them in Africa. As early as 1773 a philanthropic movement for negro colonization was under consideration. It took formal shape in the organization of the American Colonization Society in the year 1816. Though it is true that the Government was distinct from the Colonization Society's venture, it is also true that governmental help was given by funds from the Treasury Department and also the assistance of ships from the Navy Department in the early journeys of the colonists to Africa.

In December of 1821 a strip of coast land was purchased by the colonists and the work of colonization in Africa began and was carried on amid great difficulties,

which called forth the utmost self-sacrifice and heroism. This work was protected, nurtured and developed, until in 1847, the republic was formed and Liberia took her place as one of the company of nations.

The form of government was patterned after that of the United States. There is the trinity of working departments—the executive, the legislative and the judicial. When the Republic of Liberia was first founded the Liberians wrote two declarations, namely, the Declaration of Rights and the Declaration of Independence. These two documents are so expressive of ideas of freedom that they must ever be a part of the literature on the liberty of races.

Has this effort of government by Africans in Africa been successful? In answering this question several things must be kept in mind. The population of the country, estimated at about 1,050,000, is a phase that must not be overlooked. This population may be divided into three parts. There are at present 10,000 Americo-Liberians, that is, people who have descended from the American negro, and also those who have emigrated from America to Liberia. Then there are living in the civilized belt upon the sea coast, 40,000 educated natives from the tribes within the boundary of the Liberian Republic. But most important of all are 1,000,000 natives, belonging to forty different tribes and speaking as many different languages, living in the hinterland, which the Liberian Government is supposed to rule. Now, to have effectively controlled and kept in a measure of peace these native tribes is no simple accomplishment. Then Liberia has had difficulties with her civilized neighbors, England on the one hand and France on the other. The boundary lines of the country have presented grave problems for

the little republic. Facing these two great colonial powers, it is true that Liberia has failed often in solving many of the problems with which she has been confronted; yet she has faced her difficulties and held her own in a way that has not failed to bring a certain amount of admiration from the outside world. It should, above all, not be forgotten that there is a great disadvantage in being cut off from the outside world. No one knows how easy it is to deteriorate, almost unconsciously, when separated from the great ideals of civilization. Beginning with but little education and no acquired skill in the art of government, Liberia has had but little opportunity to improve its methods by the constant encouragement and inspiration of contact with more advanced communities. All these things should be borne in mind when judging the success or failure of the Liberian movement.

From time to time in the midst of her struggle against almost overwhelming odds, Liberia has made her appeals to the United States as the one great Government which she has always considered her friend. In 1908 a commission was sent to America requesting the good advice of this Government and in response to this appeal, a commission of three Americans was sent to investigate the affairs of the republic. So thorough was the work of this commission that it resulted in the presentation of one of the finest and most comprehensive reports that has ever been written on Liberian affairs.

The cause of the present financial embarrassment of the Liberian Government is

due to certain conditions that have prevailed, and still prevail throughout the country. How far Government officials are responsible for this embarrassment is difficult to determine. It is true

that revenue from internal sources is pitifully small, that the Liberian Treasury is usually empty, and that great embarrassment has been experienced in meeting financial obligations. This is hardly to be wondered at, as very little encouragement is given to outside capital to invest in the development of Liberian territory. Then the crudest kind of business arrangements and methods have characterized every department of the Government, while a contemptible, petty officialdom has alienated the sympathy of many who have come in contact with it. It is only fair to say that

the embarrassment was very materially increased by the great war, for at the time when Liberia became one of our allies, 85 per cent. of the trade of the republic was in the hands of Germans. Liberia suffered a great loss when German trade was destroyed, and months passed often without a vessel of any kind visiting Liberian ports.

During the submarine activity of Germany, a German submarine visited Liberia. The commander sent a message to the Government at Monrovia, stating that the French wireless station must be destroyed, or Monrovia suffer the consequences of an attack by the submarine, which lay in the sea close to the Liberian coast. The people were absolutely at the mercy of the German submarine. They were called together by the President of the Republic. The whole facts of the case



(Keystone View Company)

BISHOP W. H. OVERS,

Elected by the last Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church to take charge of the District of Liberia.

were placed before them. There were a few who, in a cowardly way, advised the Government to destroy the French wireless station, but the majority of the people declared. "We must be true to our allies, regardless of the consequences to us," and they sent a message to the commander of the submarine refusing his request. Many buildings were destroyed by the submarine shells, and one does not know what the consequences would have been had not an English merchant vessel appeared on the horizon and driven the German submarine from the Liberian waters.

In the present situation Liberia appeals to the United States for a loan of \$5,000,000. There is no disgrace for any country to seek a loan in time of financial need. Liberia has had loans before. In 1871 there was a loan of \$440,000; in 1910 there was a loan of \$460,000; in 1912 there was a loan of \$1,700,000, and in 1918 the Government of the United States placed to the credit of Liberia \$5,000,000 as a war measure; \$26,000 was drawn from this by Liberia, but it was afterward found that the conditions accompanying the loan were of such a nature that the Liberian Legislature requested certain modifications. To determine upon a new plan, a commission, consisting of President King of Liberia, Assistant Chief Justice Johnson and two others, came to this country with the hope of negotiating a plan for the \$5,000,000 loan which would be agreeable to both Governments.

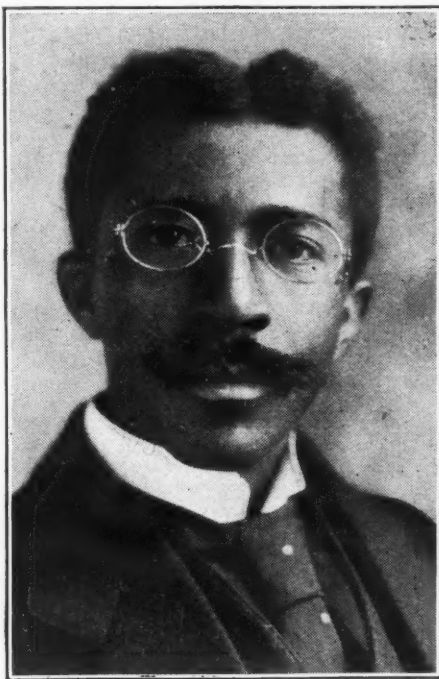
If \$5,000,000 is placed to the credit of Liberia, what will it accomplish? When one realizes that there is in Liberia a great

forest of all kinds of wood, much of it valuable hard woods, that is at the present time absolutely untouched, there is no reason why Liberians should send to Spain and other parts of Europe for much of the lumber they use, when

there is such a plentiful supply right at their own doors. In fact, there is no adequate reason why most of the things which Liberian civilization has made a necessity should not be made by Liberians from the product of their own land. There is splendid land of vast acreage which might be most productive, but the crudest methods of farming are in vogue. Year after year the work is done in the same way. There is scarcely a modern farming implement used. There is no one who knows how to analyze the soil or apply proper means of fertilization. Then there

are great resources of rubber, palm oil, piassava, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, rice, sugarcane, not to speak of the possibilities of ivory and mining interests. All these wait development. Liberia has plenty of labor. One of the tribes within the bounds of the republic is the Kroo tribe, which is known as the great labor tribe of Africa. All ships going down the African coast are worked by the Kroos, and it would be a great blessing to this tribe and to other natives of the country, under wise and generous administration, to be the laborers in the work of this development.

At present there is not a railroad, a trolley, a telegraphic system nor a good road. What is needed at the present time is a systematic study of the resources of the country; a knowledge of its products and the best methods of gathering them;



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C. B. D. KING,  
President of Liberia





(Gilliams Service)

Monrovia, the capital and port of Liberia, as seen from the waterfront

a knowledge of the possibilities of its land and how it can be best brought under cultivation; the construction of good roads into the interior, for the purpose of bringing the products of the interior to the coast and coming in closer touch with the great native population; a businesslike and honest system of Government affairs in every department; instruction in modern methods of agriculture; the making safer and more practical the facilities of the ports; an honest and wise administration for the development of the interior tribes; and the building of a good hospital for the Liberian people.

I have not spoken of the education of the country, which is in no way at the present time a credit to the Liberian Government. In fact, practically all the education, outside of that given by Liberia College, is the work of mission schools.



Liberian women of the better class, attired in their "Sunday best." The influence of Moslem styles is apparent in their headdress

(Gilliams Service)

The 1,000,000 people of the interior have been given practically no educational advantages by the Liberian Government. There is an enrollment of 9,000 students in all the schools of Liberia, and this enrollment applies almost entirely to the schools supported by the American churches. No one can measure the good that America is doing for Liberia in this particular way. There are 600 towns in that republic where no school may be found. There are more than 300,000 children who have no school advantage whatever. This to me is the most serious thing in all Liberia—far more serious than the lack of the development of her resources. Until there is a more adequate system of education by the Liberian Government itself, success cannot be even hoped for.

The plan for aid to Liberia provides that twenty-two American citizens shall be

designated for certain work by the President of the United States. This is a very valuable provision, for these men will have particular charge of the customs, the postal service, the making of roads, the creation of commerce in the interior, the collection of revenues from the native population, the imports and exports and methods of the same, so that everything will depend upon the class of men appointed; in fact, the whole future of Liberia depends upon these men. They should not, therefore, be appointed for political purposes, but for their fitness to fill the position to which they are appointed. These men will be the guiding hand of America in that country. They will inspire the members of the Liberian Government to greater effort. They will unite with the members of the Liberian Government in the making of a new Liberia.



Sketch map of Northwestern Africa, showing location of Liberia

# HOW MUSTAPHA KEMAL FORMED HIS ARMY

By ELIZABETH HARRIS

*An American relief worker in Turkey tells some little-known facts regarding the Nationalist leader and the original creation of his army out of licensed bandits—The French declared to be responsible for the Cilician massacres*

[Miss Elizabeth Harris is the Children's Division Superintendent of the New York State Sunday School Association. She spent nearly two years in Turkey, specifically in Cilicia, from 1919 to 1920, and had an excellent opportunity to observe the rise of the Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal. Special interest attaches to her account of the bandit origin of Kemal's army and to the effects of French policy in this region.]

THE situation in the Near East is of unusual interest to me because of the close contact I had with the Nationalist movement during eighteen months' actual living in the country which was conquered by Mustapha Kemal and his army. I went to Turkey early in February, 1919, into a part of the empire at that time occupied by the British Army—the same army which had been with General Allenby in the conquest of the Turks in Palestine and Syria. From those British officers, frequent visitors at our house, I got my first impression of Mustapha Kemal.

It was in June of that year that we first began to hear about the Nationalist movement, with Kemal Pasha as leader. The Americans, encouraged by the Turks, rather discounted the influence of this "adventurer with an army made up of a lot of bandits." The British, however, were not so sanguine as to the ineffectiveness of the movement. We were given to understand that the peace conference then meeting in Paris had been warned that, unless the Turkish question was settled soon, this movement would become so strong that it would mean a new war.

Most of the British officers had known Kemal Pasha personally, for he had been

their prisoner until the armistice with Turkey. They told us that people were very much mistaken when they regarded Kemal Pasha as simply a rough, ignorant brigand; that he was finely educated both in military tactics and general culture. He was not a "wild man from the hills," as at that time the Turks would have had the world think, but a man of the world, widely traveled in Europe as well as the East.

Through these officers we heard the story of the surrender of Aleppo by Kemal Pasha. As the British Army moved north after the surrender of Jerusalem, city after city fell into its hands. The story of its march north is like a story from the Old Testament. Jerusalem fell, then Damascus, Hama and Hama; and the British reached the gates of Aleppo, which Kemal Pasha was holding with an army of 8,000 men. When the British Army got north as far as that point it was so depleted from death by disease that there were only about 1,500 men, many of them suffering from malaria, dysentery or other diseases common among Europeans in Eastern countries. The army, indeed, was in such poor condition that the commander was afraid to attack, and the troops camped a few miles outside the city. Kemal Pasha, however, did not know of their weakness; he knew only that the victorious army which had swept everything before it was at the gates of the city, and he surrendered without firing a shot. When he discovered the actual conditions he was so humiliated that he attempted suicide, but was prevented. As soon as he was released by the British military au-

thorities he began his movement to drive the "infidels" out of Turkey. Three factors contributed to his success:

1. The Demobilization of the Turkish Army: I went from Constantinople to Aleppo over the Bagdad Railroad in April. Even then we saw everywhere these soldiers who had been turned adrift without money or work. The Turkish soldiers had not been paid for months. The trains were packed with them. They literally swarmed over the cars. At every stop during the night we were awakened by soldiers climbing up on top of the cars. There they rode; how they stuck on around curves and through tunnels we could not see. Possibly many did fall off, but life is cheap in Turkey, and "what Allah wills, will be." In May, 1920, I went from Port Saïd, Egypt, to Constantinople on a British transport. This transport was carrying 1,200 Turkish prisoners who had been held in Port Saïd and were to be released at Constantinople. Quite frankly they admitted that as soon as they were released they would join Mustapha Kemal's army.

2. The Bands of Licensed Robbers: Everywhere in Turkey there are bands of robbers, each with its own chief. They are very well organized, and carry on a regular business, protected to some extent at least by the Government, for which protection a fee is paid. It was not difficult for Kemal to meet the chiefs of these bands and to win them to his program. Everything about that program made strong appeal—the adventure, the opportunity to loot on a larger scale than ever before, and, most of all, the possibility of driving the hated infidels out of Turkey—a strong argument to the religious fanaticism of these people, who have been taught from their earliest infancy that the killing of non-Moslems is a virtue richly rewarded in Paradise. So successful was Kemal Pasha in winning these brigands to his ranks that for months his army was known as the "Chetahs" [the Turkish name for licensed brigands] instead of "Nationalists," as it has since come to be known.

3. The Delay of the Peace Conference in Settling the Turkish Question: This gave Kemal abundant opportunity to get his forces well organized. The Peace

Conference was informed of his actions, but did nothing.

#### THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

In November, 1919, before the peace terms were announced, the British evacuated, and a French Army took their place. None of us who were merely "private citizens" could understand why this was done. When the French came in, they immediately formed the closest friendship with the leading Armenians. The French General lived in the home of one of the wealthy Armenians, and he and his staff visited all the Armenian schools [started and paid for originally by the British], petted the children and taught them to salute the French flag. Armenians from America, and even native Armenians, were enlisted in the French Army. All this aroused the indignation of the Turks and caused continuous trouble. The French finally realized their mistake, and demobilized their Armenian troops, *leaving them at the mercy of the Turks.*

Within a few weeks of the arrival of the French—and before the announcement of the peace terms—all Americans, Turkish officials and leading Armenians were invited by the French General to a reception, at which it was announced that the French had come to take permanent possession. I have been told that that procedure was followed in the other cities occupied by the French.

I went to Marash [a city fifty-five miles further in the interior] early in December, 1919. When we entered, we found people running in all directions. A detachment of French cavalry galloped by on its way to the citadel, where we could see a Turkish flag flying. There was some skirmishing, but finally things quieted down. When we reached the American compound we were informed by French officers quartered there that the Turks had raised the flag over the citadel to celebrate the day (Friday, the Moslem holy day); that they had been ordered to take it down, and had replied that they had been permitted to fly the flag during the British occupation, and had inquired why they could no longer do so. They were told, so the French officers told us, that the British occupation was *temporary*, but the French



*permanent*; that hereafter there were to be no flags but French flags displayed. The Turkish flag, despite the French demand, was not taken down.

For the next few days the shops were closed, and the native Christians, of whom there were 22,000 in the city, expected that there would be a massacre. We were not allowed to go outside our compound unless accompanied by a French guard. Things settled down on the surface, but about the middle of January there came a serious outbreak in which 12,000 Christians were slain with the utmost barbarity. About 1,500 of them took refuge in a church. They begged the French for rifles that they might defend themselves, but these were refused. Perhaps the French could not spare the rifles. They were very much limited both as to arms and ammunition. At any rate, after many had been shot, those who remained were locked in the church, and the church was set on fire.

The French, who had brought on this trouble, and had done nothing to help the Christian population, finally decided to evacuate the city. Some 3,000 Armenians followed them out into the bitter cold, and in a blinding snowstorm, thinking that their only hope; about 1,000 died from exposure and exhaustion before they reached the railroad, thirty miles distant.

#### TURKS CONDONE MASSACRES

After the French had gone, the Turkish officials seized sixty prominent Armenians who had escaped death, and put them into prison on the charge of treason. One of the Americans interceded with the Governor in their behalf. The Governor told him that he was compelled to do something to appease the Turks; that the populace would turn against him unless these arrests were made [how like Pilate!]. He promised, however, that there would be no *public execution*, and he kept his word. There were no public executions, but in less than two weeks thirty of the sixty had disappeared, and the others soon followed.

During the whole movement the Government officials had asserted that this was an uprising of the brigands, and that because of the latter's large number they were unable to control it. Interviewed about any outrage, they looked sympa-

thetic, but shrugged their shoulders helplessly—"what can we do? These wild men know no law. We are powerless." For a long time the Allies and the Americans believed the officials. Probably there are some even now who believe that the Turkish Government really tried to put down the rebellion and to respect the terms of the Sèvres Treaty. "The Turks are honorable!" they say. This feeling persisted much longer in the coast cities, especially Constantinople, where the Turks are particularly skillful diplomats.

In the interior they were neither so skillful nor so careful. Several things occurred which made us believe from the first that the Government, represented by the Mutaserif [Governor] of our city, was with the Nationalists. The most convincing fact was that *guns and ammunition* were given out openly from the City Hall to the "Chetahs," who were camping just outside of the city. At this very time, the Mutaserif was declaring that he had nothing to do with them and could not control them. At night these "Chetahs" came into the city by the hundreds and patrolled the streets. Large numbers of them were stationed in the mosques of the city every night for months.

After the massacre in Marash, 10,000 Christians were shut up in the American compound with very little food or money. The road between Aintab and Marash was held by the "Chetahs," or Nationalists, so that it was impossible for the regular Near East Relief cars to get through. We tried to hire Moslem caravans to take supplies. They promised to carry the supplies, but kept putting it off day after day, and we were afraid that not only the natives under the protection of the Americans would suffer, but that the Americans themselves would soon be in as bad a plight. Two of our Near East Relief workers determined to ride on horseback and take money to the Americans. It was hoped that there would be enough food available in the local market to relieve the immediate need. They appealed to the Mutaserif to send *gendarmes* on ahead to prepare the way, and to give them personal escort. He consented to this, and they were thus able to go safely through that country, abso-

lutely overrun with "Chetahs," under the protection of the Mutaserif.

Though the French were so friendly at first to the Armenians, we could feel their attitude change. The General changed his headquarters; they began to make fun of them, calling them cowards, and so forth. This changed attitude culminated when the Turks attacked. The Colonel said: "I will protect the Americans, because I am ordered to do so; the Catholic Church because it is French property; but I will not protect the Armenians." As a matter of fact it was the *Armenians who saved the lives of both the French and the Americans*. They had prepared, so that in an instant they could fortify themselves behind the stone walls which surrounded every Oriental home, and behind barriers in the narrow streets. The first night after the attack they began a series of trenches through which we could get to almost any part of the Christian quarter of the city. Both French and Americans stayed within these entrenchments erected by the Armenians until a French regiment came to the relief of the city. However, this was only temporary, and the French finally withdrew entirely, leaving Cilicia to the Turks under the terms of their treaty with Angora.

#### TURKISH HOSTILITY TO FRANCE

For months before the actual attack the French were constantly being humiliated by the Turks. The shopkeepers would not sell to them. They could not buy in the open market. No private soldier was allowed to go into the Turkish quarter alone. They usually went in numbers from ten to twelve up to twenty, in charge of a Second Lieutenant, and even then the merchants refused to sell to them. Because the Turks refused to sell them fuel, they were compelled to cut down some of the trees in Aintab. These trees had been planted by one of the few Governors who had really worked for the best interests of the people. He was recalled after only a few months' service.

On Feb. 1, 1920, two American Y. M. C. A. men, with their native chauffeurs, were killed on the way from Aleppo to Aintab. The Turks apologized to the Americans, their excuse being that they

thought that the Americans whom they had murdered were *French officers*. In Urfa, a small garrison of French—about 400—were bombarded for sixty days by the Nationalist Turkish Army. At the end of that time they were forced to surrender because of lack of food. They were accorded the honors of war, and even given permission to rejoin the French Army, but when they had marched two hours out of the city they were set upon by a large band of Turks headed by the very men to whom they had surrendered, and all were killed with the exception of about 100 African troops, who were Moslem.

In Aintab the Turkish authorities treated the French commissioned officers during the entire time of their occupation as a group of rough, wild boys would treat a weak schoolmaster. Knowing these things, it seems incomprehensible that the French should be pro-Turk in the present crisis, or that they should have aided Mustapha Kemal with arms and munitions.

#### TURKISH SITUATION COMPLEX

The situation inside the Turkish Empire is much more complex than appears on the surface. The religious feeling is strong, and the jealousies among the different Moslem groups are very bitter, although the Moslems do unite against the non-Moslems. The Arabs always resented the overlordship of the Turks. The Kurds, too, were often decidedly rebellious against Turkish rule. When the Nationalists were organizing in Aintab, the Kurds held out for weeks, but finally religious pressure was brought to bear so strongly that they joined the Nationalist forces. Moslems and Christians live together in all parts of the empire. In old Armenia, part of which was given to the Armenians by the Peace Conference, a large percentage of the population is Kurdish. The little Republic of Armenia was from the first surrounded by five or six small rival nations. No wonder it has had such a stormy and perilous time during its brief life. In the Turkish city where I was, before the war 45 per cent. of the population was Christian and 30 per cent. of the wealth was centred in Christian hands.

The hatreds are of such long standing, and such horrible deeds have been com-

mitted, perhaps by both sides, certainly by the Turks, that it does not seem as though the two races could ever live together in peace.

Is Kemal Pasha the long-looked-for leader of Islam? I went down to Jerusalem at the beginning of the trouble between the French and the Turks and Arabs. While there I had a talk with our Consul, who has been in Jerusalem many years. He was there during the war, and had had a most unusual opportunity to study the whole situation. America at that time was the only nation either willing or able to help all sects, nationalities and creeds. So they came to his door—Moslem, Christian and Jew—and, because they had come

to look upon him as a friend, they gave him their confidence.

In the talk I had with him he reminded me of the rapid growth of Islam. Then he spoke of the jealousies and divisions among the followers of the Prophet, and said: "If there had been a leader strong enough to unite those different factions, the holy war planned by the Germans would doubtless have been, if not a success, surely not a flat failure. There are many who are wondering if this long-looked-for leader is Kemal Pasha." It begins to look as though Kemal Pasha might be able to unite all the different factions. He had done so in Turkey. Will he be able to unite the Moslems of the world?

## ITALY'S HISTORIC CEREMONY AT RHODES

ON Sept. 24, 1922, in the former Greek Island of Rhodes, the Italians unsealed the "English Bastion" in the ancient walls. This was a ceremony that brought before the minds of those who witnessed it dreams of a great and glorious past; pageant-like visions of vast armies, agleam with steel, marching under the red cross of the Crusaders; of other armies, fierce and hostile, spurred by Mohammed's hatreds for the gïaours; reveries of Jerusalem the Golden, with its olive trees, crumbling walls and white-roofed houses; of Constantinople, that other lovely city on the Bosphorus and the "Marble Sea", and of Byzantine splendors submerged by the swarthy Ottoman tide that overwhelmed the Eastern bulwark of Christianity in 1453; of the heroic struggle of the last crusading order in Rhodes, a century later, against the ferocious hordes of Suleiman the Magnificent; their defeat and departure. Rhodes, once the Venice of the Near East, the fairest island city of ancient Hellas, the trading entrepôt between Phoenicia and Southeastern Europe, reduced to a small fishing port when the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem fled to it from the pursuing Turk in 1310, was shorn of all

commercial and industrial life with the expulsion of the Knights. Fifty years later Venice at Lepanto destroyed Turkish naval power in the Levant; but Rhodes lived on, a dead city plunged in its dreams of the past. One of its main gates in the crumbling walls of the old fortifications was the Suleiman gate, or the old Propugnaculum Angliae, which Suleiman, after riding through in all the trappings of barbaric magnificence, ordered sealed up after his entrance, so that no one could boast that he had passed where Suleiman had passed. Through all the centuries this bastion remained hermetically closed. In 1912 Italy seized the island from the Turks, and, upon the opening of that historic gate last September, Italy spent more than 100,000 lire, in order "fittingly to signalize the Christian recovery of the Levant, and to commemorate the 400th anniversary of one of the greatest sieges in history." Only twelve miles to the northeast the descendants of those same Turkish conquerors, under one Mustapha Kemal, victors over the Greeks in Asia Minor, rested on their arms in readiness to dictate new terms of peace to a Europe apparently again vanquished, though victorious in the World War.

# AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN TURKEY

By EVERETT P. WHEELER

[The author of this article became in 1894 a member of a committee for the relief of Armenian orphans. He has remained on the committee ever since and is now its Chairman. He has made a careful study of the activity of the American missionaries in Asia Minor.]

A TREATY was made in 1830 between the United States and Turkey which authorized the entry of American citizens into Turkey, guaranteed protection and security to them, and authorized them to engage in any lawful business there. Under the protection of this treaty and by tacit agreement among various Christian religious bodies (which is one evidence that Christian unity is really greater than appears on the surface), the American Congregational Church was charged with the duty of sending missionaries to Turkey, and especially to Asia Minor and Syria. The object of these missions was not to make proselytes among the Mohammedans. That was forbidden by the Turkish law. To quote from the article on Mohammedanism in the International Encyclopedia: "Infidelity or apostasy from Islam is a crime punished by the death of the offender if he has been warned thrice without recanting."

The Americans who went to Asia Minor found there a large Armenian Christian population. The Armenian Nation originally extended from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. Tarsus, where St. Paul was born, was one of their cities. They had been conquered by the invading Mohammedans in the eleventh century, but in the face of persecution by the Turks held fast to their Christian faith. They were poor and were oppressed. There was no security for life or property and no education for the children. It was pity and love for these unfortunate Christians that led devoted Americans to enter Armenia. They went there with the full consent of the Turkish Government. We invested over \$9,000,000 in schools, colleges and

hospitals. The ministration of these hospitals was not confined to the native Christians. The Turks also benefited thereby. One of the American medical missionaries, Dr. Thom, who married a niece of mine and who was stationed at Mardin, conferred so many benefits by his surgical skill upon the Turks that he was decorated by the Sultan.

It must be remembered that part of the Moslem population of Asia Minor consists of the Kurds, who are wild tribes, hardly any more civilized than were the American Indians when our fathers entered this country. Many of the atrocities committed against the native Christians were committed by them without repression from the Turkish Government.

It is not true that these Americans made any attempt of a political character. No doubt it is true that the effect of teaching the children the history of other countries, and the knowledge they acquired that there were free countries in the world like England and America, led them to hope for something better than they had experienced from the Turks. They had received no benefits from the Turks. At most, they have been tolerated and spared a little after the robbery of the rest.

All general statements can best be brought to the test of particular instances. The most notable of these in the history of our citizens in Turkey is the ever memorable incident of Corinna Shattuck at Urfa. There, in her single person, she stood for all the American Government stands for—righteousness, justice, law. There she had been sent by us; there she had been established with the consent of the Turkish Government; there she had acquired a home and used it for the education of children and their parents and for the relief of the suffering and distressed. When a cruel Mussulman mob in 1895 sought to outrage and slay the



native Christians, they found refuge with her. Her little enclosure was packed with innocent victims of Turkish outrage and Turkish rapacity. She faced the howling mob. To every demand that she should yield and allow the rioters to pass, she interposed the dignity and authority of her womanhood and the sacredness of treaty rights secured for her and all our citizens by the Government of her native land.

If the American board, with all its outlay of money and time and thought, with all its memorable and precious history, had accomplished nothing but to put Corinna Shattuck at the door of her house in Urfa, standing as she did as a protection and shield for hundreds of innocent Christians, that result of itself would more than repay all the toil and expenditure of the past. Wherever this gospel shall be spoken of throughout the world, there also what this woman has done shall be told as a memorial of her. Nor she alone. A noble army, whose courage and heroism shed undying lustre on the American name, have endured hardship as good soldiers of Jesus Christ. One of them—President Gates of Euphrates College—wrote in 1895:

For three days we have looked death in the face hourly. We have passed by the mouth of a bottomless pit and flames came out against us, but no one in our company flinched or faltered. We simply trusted in the Lord and went on. \* \* \* If we abandon the Christians they are all lost.

Actuated by the same spirit of love and sympathy for suffering Christians, a New York merchant, Christopher R. Robert, founded a college for young men. It was on the European side of the Bosphorus and was from the first under Christian auspices. It was the spirit of Christ that influenced Mr. Robert and his associates to establish the college. They knew that the teaching of the Koran is to make war against the infidels, and that this policy enjoined by their religion had been pursued by the Turks whenever it could be from the beginning.

After Robert College was established a college for women was built at Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. This also was founded by American Christians and was continued under Christian auspices. It was founded with full consent

of the Turkish Government. Among other treaty rights, Americans had the right to buy land. When the college was burned it seemed best to the managers to transfer it to the European side of the Bosphorus, and accordingly land was bought there for this purpose. But under the Turkish law the consent of the Government was necessary to complete the transfer. The property had been legally bought and the price paid to the Turkish owners, but the Government refused its consent to the registration. A group of American citizens, of which I was one, appeared before Mr. Roosevelt, who was then President, and asked him to insist that the Turkish Government comply with the treaty and permit the registration. Here we had an illustration of that duplicity which is characteristic of the Turkish Government and which leads us to distrust all its promises. These are always plausible, but seldom fulfilled. The Sultan told the American Minister that he wanted that particular site so that he might build a residence for one of his daughters. We replied that if he really desired to buy it for that purpose we would be willing to sell for a fair price, but that in order to enable us to do this we must have the transfer registered. Mr. Roosevelt saw the point. He directed the Secretary of State to cable to our Minister to insist on the registration. This was done, and we never heard again of any desire on the part of the Sultan to build on that site. Accordingly, the American College was built, and under the leadership of Mary Mills Patrick it has attained high rank among European educational institutions.

When the great war came, the Turks, who had received support in various ways from the Germans and whose army had been trained in large part by German officers, joined the Germans. When they were all defeated, the successful Allies generally acquiesced in the doctrine of "self-determination," which President Wilson and not the missionaries brought forward. The Armenians in Asia Minor were a distinct race from the Turks and of a different religion. They had been persecuted and oppressed by the Turkish Government far more than the Poles had ever been by Germany, Russia or Austria.

They had been a Christian nation steadfast to their faith for sixteen centuries. Certainly, if there is to be any brotherhood among Christians, they were entitled to self-determination as much as the Poles. In pursuance of this principle, the treaty provided independence for them and left the determination of the boundary to President Wilson. The nations also offered to the United States a mandate to protect this resurrected nation until they should become established and able to protect themselves. Many Christians in this country did endeavor to convince our Government that it should accept this mandate. Undoubtedly the missionaries would have been very glad to have it accepted and to be freed from Turkish tyranny. But to say that they would have controlled the new republic shows little acquaintance with the Armenian character. They are intelligent, high spirited, quite able to govern themselves, and the majority of them are proud to belong to the old Gregorian Church, which existed when our ancestors were savages. Unfortunately, the American Government refused to accept the mandate.

Our European allies were oppressed with an enormous burden of taxation, and they suffered from the war far more than we. The French and Belgians were not receiving the indemnities which the Germans had promised. It is not surprising that they did not feel able to take the administration of Asia Minor. The old Turkish spirit revived. A very able leader, Kemal Pasha, came to their head. They have driven the Greeks out of Asia Minor, destroyed Smyrna, killed many thousands of Christians, deported or killed hundreds of thousands of Armenians, and now have possession of Asia Minor with the exception of a small strip at the western end, which the British still hold to protect Constantinople from the fate of Smyrna. It is an indelible disgrace to America that we have suffered our citizens in Asia Minor to be killed, their property seized and their business broken up and destroyed without any forcible intervention.

What will become of the American schools, hospitals and colleges in Asia

Minor no one can tell. The people for whom they were originally instituted have been destroyed by the Turks. No doubt this was partly in revenge for the fact that the Armenians during the war refused to aid our Turkish enemies and sympathized with us. No doubt it is true that the American missionaries who were living in Asia Minor had the same feeling. They hoped that America would succeed in the great war. It is an extraordinary perversion of every patriotic sentiment to blame them for this action.

Clair Price tells us in the October number of *CURRENT HISTORY* the Angora tale as it was told to him. It is well for us to know how the Angora Turks fell. They hate the American missionaries and the Armenian Christians as the oppressor always hates his victim.

Forgiveness to the injured does belong,  
But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong.

When Lieutenant Greely went on an expedition of scientific interest to the polar regions, did we desert him and his followers? No; we spared neither men nor money; we sent expedition after expedition. The President, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, vied with each other in their efforts to succor our citizens in their need. Is humanity less sacred than science? Is education less important than the study of the arctic currents? Are schools and colleges less entitled to our care than the barometer and the theodolite? Is the discovery of the pole more important than the protection of Christian civilization?

In 1453, Constantinople was besieged by the Turks. The Christian powers did not go to the relief of the Greeks and the city was captured. History has condemned this inaction. The victorious Turks extended their conquests and finally, in 1636, besieged Vienna. This would have had the fate of Smyrna but for the timely aid of Sobieski and his gallant Poles. The Turks were defeated and the siege raised. History praises Sobieski.

Let us hope and pray that our Government will co-operate now to protect Constantinople and our American citizens and colleges.

*New Hamburg, N. Y., Sept. 30, 1922.*

# TURKEY AND THE AMERICANS

By GEORGE R. MONTGOMERY

Director of the Armenia America Society

*To the Editor of Current History:*

MR. CLAIR PRICE has an extremely interesting article in the October CURRENT HISTORY entitled "Mustapha Kemal and the Americans." I am led to wonder, however, whether Mr. Price is giving Mustapha Kemal's actual views or the line of reasoning which Mr. Price would adopt were he Mustapha Kemal and trying to make out a case. This question presents itself to me because I used to suppose that the point of view presented by Mr. Price might be the point of view taken by the Turks, and I took pains to discuss the subject with both Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha during the war, and also with Djavid Bey, then Minister of Finance. I took the matter up with these men because I wished to put them right in case they did reason along that line. I was quite a little surprised to find that they had judged the situation accurately.

The fact of the matter is that the American missionaries and the American institutions, far from being divisive influences and factors, worked in exactly the opposite direction. Not only did they keep entirely aloof from politics, but they also avoided all contact with political agents. Political propaganda was strictly forbidden in the American institutions, and these institutions were bitterly criticised and even assailed by the various revolutionary leaders for this so-called pro-Turk attitude. It is also true that the leadership in the revolutionary parties included very few Protestants, that is to say, very few of those who were the product of American influence.

With regard to revolutionary parties, moreover, let it be entirely clear that the revolutionists were not confined to the Christians. During the three years that I was in Smyrna and Constantinople, from 1894 to 1897, I found Turkish revolutionists not so daring as the Armenian revolutionists, but nearly as active. The despot-

ism of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. was of a character to awaken thoughts of rebellion in the minds of all liberty-loving men, and his overthrow in 1908 was the direct result of these Turkish revolutionary activities, which culminated in the formation of the Young Turk Revolutionist Party. The Armenian revolutionary centres were not in America, nor did the struggle for liberation have its source in American teaching. The centres for the Armenian revolutionists were in France and Russia. In France the impetus was received from the great French struggles for liberty, and in Russia the impetus, and many of the methods also, came from the teachings of nihilism. The centres for the Turkish revolutionary activities were in Paris and Vienna. It is interesting to note that the Young Turks were for a long time handicapped by their lack of training in co-operation, until lodges of the Freemasons were introduced among them. These lodges spread from the Jews of Spanish origin in Saloniki first, to the Deunme sect of Mohomedans, which is made up of the descendants of a large band of Jews that embraced Mohammedanism in a body some two centuries ago. From the Deunme Mohammedans Freemasonry found its way into Turkish Mohammedan circles. It provided the camouflage under which revolutionary plots could be prepared, and it furnished the system of organization which made the later Committee of Union and Progress so efficient a body.

Mr. Price's main thesis is that the American missionaries and institutions have been the principal influence in alienating the Armenians from the Ottoman Empire, and yet he adduces not a single fact in support of his thesis except the argument of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*: "The American institutions were introduced nearly a century ago, and since that time alienation has taken place." Had he been more familiar

with the history of the Near East preceding the war, I do not believe that he would have fallen into that error. The alienation was due in part to the exaggerated emphasis upon racial patriotism; but more especially was it due to the despotism, the fanaticism, and the oppression of Abdul Hamid II. and his Yulduz Serai clique. The Americans through it all saw the danger of revolution where the hope was placed in foreign intervention; they tried to act as mediators between the Turks and the Christians; they tried to turn the look of all parties into the future, rather than into the past; they deprecated the jingo spirit in racialism, and, as I have said, they were bitterly criticised by some ardent patriots for their timidity and their so-called pro-Turkism.

That this alienation, of which Mr. Price makes so much, was a revolt against tyranny and not a revolt either against the Ottoman Empire or against Mohommedanism is evident from the fact that in the first promise of "fraternity, equality and progress," as set forth by the Young Turk program in 1908, all the Christian communities gladly joined with the Turkish and non-Turkish Mohammedans to make the new Parliament and the new Administration a success. Armenians and Greeks and Arabs elected delegates. Very soon, however, it became clear that that element among the Young Turks which was for eliminating all non-Turkish participation in the Government had obtained the upper hand. It began the drastic "Turkification" policy which "alienated" not only the Christians but also the Arabs, and just before the war the Syrians had prepared a revolution which was stamped out by the notorious Djemal Pasha with his bloody hangings of some 200 of the leading Syrians in the early months of the war.

I think that the case has been made clear that the "Armenian Feud" of which Mr. Price makes so much is not the product of American activities. This brings me to consider the American attitude since the armistice. The position of the Near East Relief has been extremely difficult. Its workers have been face to face with injustice and outrages. If they kept silent and confined themselves to relief measures they saw the very people whom they were succoring being exterminated. If they spoke out the

truth they laid themselves open to the accusation, by writers like Mr. Price, of aggravating the situation.

Mr. Price makes quite a little of his view of American missionary political activity by proving that a book entitled "Reconstruction in Turkey" was the main factor in the American mandate project for Turkey. Perhaps I have been negligent in my reading, but though I have been deeply interested in the matter of reconstruction in Turkey, and though I was a member of the Commission on Mandates in Turkey, it happens that I have never seen the book to which Mr. Price refers. Possibly on his side Mr. Price is not familiar with the "Report on an American Mandate for Armenia," prepared by a large staff of experts working under General Harbord. This Harbord commission was sent into Asia Minor, and as a result of its investigations practically recommended that America take the mandate for the whole of Turkey and wished to include in the mandate the Transcaucasian provinces of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia. Many who knew the situation in the Near East considered the proposition so grandiose as to be impracticable. So far as my information goes, the project of an American mandate for the whole of Turkey came from Turkish sources as soon as from any other, and was brought from Turkey in a formal message by Professor Marshall P. Brown to the Peace Conference in January or February of 1919. Our own understanding at the Peace Conference was that President Wilson favored an American mandate over Armenia and over the International Free State of Constantinople. Mr. Price is mistaken in stating that the Turks have no friends in the West and that the Americans philanthropically interested in Turkey have been engaged in anti-Turkish propaganda. The desire of keeping on friendly terms with the Turks has even suppressed the spreading of unpalatable truths. Mr. Price has referred to "Wilson's failure to enforce respect for Article 12 in his Declaration of Fourteen Points" (Jan. 8, 1918) as giving a basis for Turkish resentment. Since, apparently, the Turks set so great store by this article, it is well to have it in mind. The article



reads as follows: "The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." The present effort on the part of many Americans to obtain for the Armenians an independent national home is an effort entirely in line with this article, and aside from endeavors to obtain safety for the Armenians within the Turkish jurisdiction is the only effort that has been attempted by the American missionaries and by those who are co-operating with them. It has been said that Mustapha Kemal has expressed himself as being in favor of an

Armenian national home, provided a territory might be found in Turkey where the Armenians constitute the majority of the population. Many of us feel certain that if a territory in Cilicia could be set aside as such a national home, the Armenian refugees could be gathered into it in such numbers as to make it predominantly Armenian within a year. The population of Cilicia was predominantly Armenian before the war and again after the armistice before the French evacuated that province. Mustapha Kemal must himself see the fairness of taking the terrible fact of the deportations of 1915, with the accompanying massacres, into consideration in meeting the question of population.

### LOW STATUS OF RUSSIAN SCHOOLS

THE Russian correspondent for a leading London paper states that the Soviet newspapers have been filled for months with appeals for heroic measures to raise the schools out of the abyss into which they have fallen. For three years the Bolsheviki boasted of these schools and of their achievement in raising the standard of education among the Russian masses. This correspondent translates from the official *Izvestia* the salient passages of an article written by S. Miskévitch, one of the Soviet School Inspectors, who had recently acted as a member of the Commission of Experts appointed to ascertain the qualifications of the teachers now engaged in forwarding the new educational standard. The following passages have considerable interest:

I knew before that the standard of Soviet teachers was low, especially of those who have entered the profession during the past five

years, but my very worst fears had not prepared me for what our detailed investigations have brought to light.

These "teachers" could not answer the simplest questions. Some said the sun moved round the earth, others could not say near what sea Petrograd was situated or what western countries bordered on present Russia; some suggested Germany, Austria, and even France, and only one teacher gave the right answer. We asked who were the present rulers of Russia, and received the reply, "Lenin and Trotzky." Not only in political, historical, and geographical questions was this lack of knowledge disclosed, but similarly in other subjects the majority showed the most unspeakable ignorance.

This all refers to Moscow, so what can be expected of the provinces? The Communist Party and the Soviet Government must devote much attention to educational questions, and first of all they must direct this attention to the Commissariat for Education, for it is no secret that this is one of the feeblest of our commissariats. It must receive a new staff and be fundamentally reorganized. But, first, the salaries of teachers must be raised, for they are now considerably below the living minimum.



# THE SOCIALIST TRIAL IN MOSCOW

By LEO PASVOLSKY

*A documented account of the historic trial in which the Soviet authorities sentenced to death fifteen men and women for revolutionary activities—A state of things similar to that under the Czar*

**I**N reply to the action of the Soviet Government in making twelve out of the fifteen leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party, recently sentenced to death in Moscow for revolutionary activities against the Soviet régime, hostages for the cessation of such activities on the part of their party, the Central Committee of the party has issued a declaration, in which it says: "The Socialist-Revolutionist Party will not be forced away from its purpose by this attempt to blackmail it with the heads of the heroic prisoners."

This declaration, with the acts of the Soviet Government that evoked it, has shed a significant light on several important phases of the present Russian situation. The receipt in this country of all the most important documents in this affair makes it possible to view in their proper setting some of the extraordinary circumstances connected with the recent Socialist trial in Moscow.

The Communist Party, which is today the Government of Russia, has an old score to settle with the Socialist-Revolutionist Party. It was from the hands of the latter that the Communist leaders snatched governmental authority in November, 1917. Premier Kerensky and some of the important members of his Government, as well as the majority of members of the Preliminary Parliament, belonged to the various branches of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party. It was by dispersing the All-Russian Constituent Assembly in January, 1918, that the Communist leaders finally established the Soviet régime in Russia, and the Socialist-Revolutionists were in an overwhelming majority in the Assembly. The Socialist-

Revolutionists—sometimes called the Social Revolutionaries—were thus the principal opponents of the Communists during the months when the latter were battling for governmental power.

The Socialist-Revolutionists continued to be the most formidable opponents of communism and of the Communists during the years that followed those early events of the Russian Soviet régime. They attempted to organize uprisings against the régime, in some instances with considerable and bloody success. Members of their party were responsible for the assassination of a number of prominent Soviet leaders and for the attempts to assassinate Lenin and Trotzky in 1918. They took part in all the important phases of the civil war on the side opposed to the Soviets. Just as the party had come into existence during the imperial régime for the purpose of overthrowing the Czar and his bureaucracy, so it continued its existence during the Soviet régime for the purpose of bringing about the overthrow of Lenin and his Communist oligarchy. Their enemy has merely changed his name and the external paraphernalia of his power; otherwise there is no difference between the two phases of the party's struggle.

Under the imperial régime spectacular trials of members of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party were staged by the Czar's police. Under the Soviet régime a still more spectacular trial has been staged by Lenin's Che-ka, now operating under a new name. And when one reads the lengthy and involved verdict handed down by the Supreme Tribunal of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, one is strangely reminded of similar

documents handed down in former times by the imperial courts. The final upshot of the affair, however, is different. The sentence has been confirmed by the supreme Soviet powers in a way quite different from that which was formerly employed by the Czar.

The outcome of the trial was never in doubt at any time during the fifty days of the actual hearings in Moscow or during the months that preceded them. After the verdict had been handed down and its confirmation had been officially announced, the Executive Committee of the Third Internationale issued a manifesto addressed to the "workmen and workwomen of the world," in which it said:

The revolutionary tribunal has pronounced a sentence in the case of the leaders of the counter-revolutionary party, which calls itself the Socialist-Revolutionists—a sentence of the kind expected by every intelligent revolutionary workman who has followed the trial and the unfolding of the picture of crimes committed by that party.

#### WHOLE PARTY ON TRIAL

The fate of the men and women—thirty-four in all—who came up for trial in Moscow last June and were sentenced in August was, therefore, a foregone conclusion. In that there is, of course, nothing strange. These men and women were not tried as individuals for crimes committed by each separately or by the group collectively. They were brought to trial and made to answer for the policies and actions of the whole political party that was violently opposed to the Soviet régime. Most of those who were tried had been in prison for months and even years. They could not have directed the work of their party, even if they had happened to be that party's principal leaders, which they were not, with one or two exceptions. Obviously, the hearings before the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow were a trial not of the thirty-four individuals arraigned before it, but of the whole Socialist-Revolutionist Party, with the defendants as a mere excuse.

Why it suddenly became necessary for the Soviet régime to smash the Socialist-Revolutionist Party is difficult to explain, except again by an analogy with the imperial régime. When the Czar's Government tried to make deals abroad, such

deals were usually preceded by efforts at "pacification" at home. The Soviet Government has been eminently in that position since the beginning of this year. Its stability has been the constant question mark in all its negotiations with the powers of Western Europe. It is, therefore, good policy to establish an appearance of stability and at the same time settle a score with an inveterate and relentless enemy.

To stage a trial of the kind that has just taken place in Moscow was not an altogether safe thing to do. It was bound to arouse bitterness and animosity, so the thing was staged with an eye for psychological effect. Leaders of the Socialist Parties of Western Europe were permitted to come to Moscow and defend the men on trial. They came, saw the mockery of the thing, and went away. This incident was utilized to the utmost by the Soviet propagandists to show that even such "traitors to socialism" as the leaders of the European Socialist Parties were convinced of the utter depravity of the Socialist-Revolutionists and the indescribable enormity of their crimes.

One of the accusations that the Soviet Judges strove especially to fasten upon the party which was on trial before them was that of being a bourgeois, rather than a Socialist, party. In the text of the verdict each of the accused is described in a most extraordinary manner. For example:

A. R. Gotz, a man with higher education, son of a merchant; D. D. Donskoy, a man with higher education, son of a physician; M. A. Likhach, a man with higher education, son of a former Government official, and so on.

The object of this particular manner of identifying the prisoners before the bar of the Soviet tribunal may best be seen from the following words, taken bodily from the text of the verdict:

All the activities of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party during the last years of the severe struggle of the Workmen-Peasants' Republic for its existence bear witness to the fact that this is a bourgeois rather than a Socialist Party; that it utilizes its Socialist name and the Socialist elements that happen to be in its ranks for the purpose of deceiving the masses of the people; that it is a counter-revolutionary party of enemies of the people.

It is on this position that the Soviet leaders have attempted to justify before their

own people their line of behavior in the treatment of the Socialist-Revolutionists. The descriptions of the accused are interesting, of course, not only for what they contain, but even more so for what is omitted from them. In the case of A. R. Gotz, for example, the description omits to state the rôle he had played as one of the leaders in the revolutionary activities that culminated in the overthrow of the Czar. Then, too, among the accused were three ordinary workmen, who could not be described except by that one word. If Lenin and Trotzky had been tried in the same manner the name of the former would have had to be followed with the phrase, "a man with higher education, son of a nobleman"; that of the latter with the phrase, "son of a merchant."

The sentence of the Supreme Tribunal made all the accused responsible, in varying degrees, for the activities of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party, and these activities consist of every conceivable means that can be utilized for the overthrow of a Government by revolutionary action. Fifteen of them were sentenced to death and the others to various terms of imprisonment.

#### STOLEN DOCUMENTS

A veritable sensation was created when the prosecution placed before the tribunal documents which were alleged to have been stolen from Socialist-Revolutionists abroad, notably from Alexander Kerensky. These documents were described as representing the views of the so-called Administrative Centre of the Non-Party Union, which is an organization created in Paris for the purpose of conducting a struggle against the Soviet régime. In these documents the plans of the Administrative Centre are represented as follows:

The exceptional significance for the Soviet authority of separate individuals is such that the continued existence of the Soviet Government without them would be impossible. \* \* \* A blow at the centres of the Soviet authority, the destruction of the individuals who have become its living embodiments, the seizure—at least temporarily—of the centre of Government, will make the apparatus of administration unworkable, and will serve as the long-awaited signal for an active and universal uprising of the masses, first of all, of the Red army, which is the best organized part of the masses.

There has been very considerable doubt as to the authenticity of these documents, though on the face of them they would seem plausible enough. But whether authentic or not, they were used by the prosecution to show that the Socialist-Revolutionist Party was still committed to a program of revolutionary overthrow of the Soviet régime, especially by means of armed uprisings and terroristic acts against individual Soviet leaders. The proving of this point was not an easy matter. It so happens that the Non-Party Union represents several parties and factions, while its Administrative Centre is made up of members of many of these groups. But the Soviet prosecuting attorneys proved to their own satisfaction—and, apparently, to that of the Soviet Judges—that this Administrative Centre is controlled by the leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party and that, consequently, even those members and leaders of that party who have been incarcerated in Soviet prisons for two years past are responsible for the acts and policies of the Administrative Centre located in Paris.

On the basis of this and similar evidence, thirteen men and two women were sentenced to death; six men to ten years' imprisonment at hard labor; six men to five years' imprisonment; three men to three years' imprisonment; one man and one woman to two years' imprisonment; two of the thirty-four were found not guilty.

It is not the verdict itself, however, but the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets confirming the sentence, that will remain one of the most amazing documents in the revolutionary history of the world. After noting the fact that the whole trial had been attacked and criticised by the "political leaders and writers of the bourgeois reaction and the social-democracy" as an act of political vengeance on the part of the Soviet Government, the decision of the Central Executive Committee, which is the highest organ of Soviet authority, says:

The Supreme Tribunal, clearly realizing its duty of defending the revolution, which has now become a State, from the enemies that threaten it, after hearing the cases for two months before the whole world, has shown by its verdict that it is not a matter of settling old historical accounts,



but of a struggle against a fierce enemy, who, in spite of his negligible political influence within the country, can yet represent a large danger in the future as a tool in the hands of world imperialism, which still possesses great power. During the course of the trial the imperialist bourgeoisie of the world exhibited its power by the fact that, in spite of the daily growth of the Communist movement, it succeeded, through the instrumentality of the Social Democracy, which is subservient to it, in instilling its own interpretation of the character and the rôle of the Socialist-Revolutionists in the minds of considerable sections of the working class. The elements of the working class which, by supporting such leaders as Scheidemann, Henderson, Renaudel and Gompers, constitute the most important support of capitalist slavery, have taken up definitely the defense of the Socialist-Revolutionists.

In view of this situation the Central Executive Committee decided to give the world proletariat an "object lesson in revolutionary tactics." It approved unreservedly the "correctness and the revolutionary justifiableness" of the verdict rendered by the Supreme Tribunal. It therefore confirmed the sentence of death in the case of twelve out of the fifteen persons sentenced by the tribunal. But it ordered the executions postponed, subject to the following condition:

If the Socialist-Revolutionist Party will, actually and in practice, give up its conspiracies, its terroristic activities, its military espionage and its rebellious work against the authority of the workmen and peasants, it will in that manner save from the supreme penalty those of its leading members who directed such work in the past, and who, in the course of the trial itself, reserved the right to continue it in the future. On the contrary, a resumption by the Socialist-Revolutionist Party of its methods of armed struggle against the Workmen-Peasants' authority will bring with it inevitably the execution of the inspirers and organizers of the counter-revolutionary terror and rebellion who have been sentenced at the trial.

#### REPLY OF PARTY LEADERS

This decision was rendered on Aug. 8, 1922. Five days later the Executive Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party issued the declaration cited at the beginning of this article. The party was ready and willing, it declared, to abandon the instrument of civil war for the purpose of effecting the overthrow of the Soviet Government; but under no circumstances would it be deterred from continuing its revolutionary activities against the Soviet régime as organized at present under the dictatorship of the Communist Party—not

even at the expense of being forced to sacrifice those of its members who were now held as hostages by the Soviet Government under threat of death. The declaration reads:

The Socialist-Revolutionist Party will never leave its democratic positions, but in order to avoid further convulsions it is ready to accomplish its aims through free elections to the Soviets. And if the Communist Party refuses to enter upon the path of conciliation with the people it will bear all the responsibility for that inevitable catastrophic end the horrors of which no one will be able to foretell.

The party, in exchange for its abandonment of armed revolutionary activity, asks of the Soviet leaders the fulfillment of the following condition:

Universal, simultaneous elections to the Soviets, with complete freedom of election agitation and of the party press, with free speech, with liberation from prison of all political opponents (of the Communist Party), and with the abandonment of the system of intimidation of voters by the open ballot cast in the presence of armed Che-ka agents.

As for the Socialist-Revolutionists now held as hostages, the party warns the leaders of the Communist Party that "for the lives of these defenseless prisoners the Socialist-Revolutionist Party will lay personal responsibility upon the inventors of the system of hostages by law and of torture by constant threat of execution."

The meaning of this warning is clear enough. The Socialist-Revolutionist Party faces today the same situation that it faced under the imperial régime, when its only way of dealing with the despots of Russia seemed to be by assassinating enough of them to intimidate the rest. It now faces the choice between an abdication of its revolutionary activities and a resumption of personal terror against the Soviet leaders. For the Soviet leaders will not, of course, grant its demand for an appeal to a freely voting electorate.

In spite of what the Soviet publicists now call the "revolutionary clemency" of the Communist masters of Russia, as expressed in the extraordinary decision of the Central Executive Committee, the Socialist-Revolutionists will undoubtedly have the public opinion of the world on their side. The Berlin Freiheit, the organ of the German Majority Socialists, in commenting upon the Moscow trial, said:

The working class of Russia and of the whole world will not cease its struggle, not only for the

life of the persons who are now threatened with death, but for a full amnesty for all the condemned Socialist-Revolutionists and all Russian political prisoners and exiles. Only in a complete cessation of political persecutions and a re-establishment in Russia of political liberty is there any guarantee that the present horrors and disgrace will come to an end.

The latest act of "revolutionary clemency" exercised by the Soviet leaders has turned even Maxim Gorky against them. Fifteen years ago, when the Russian Imperial Government had succeeded in "pacifying" Russia through an exercise of

savage political persecution, Gorky, in an open letter to the supporters of that régime, foretold the horrors which would come inevitably as a result of an explosion of the "mounds of hatred" which the tactics of the Czar's bureaucracy were piling up. The first stages of the Soviet régime in Russia amply justified a similar grim prophecy. The present tactics of the Communist masters of Russia augur even more grimly the inevitability of a new explosion.

## MINORITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By CHARLES PERGLER

Formerly Czechoslovak Commissioner to the United States, later Czechoslovak Minister to Japan

THE results of the first census in the Czechoslovak Republic have just been published. This new State, on Feb. 15, 1921, had a population of 13,366,080 citizens—exclusive of 238,727 non-citizens; if we include these non-citizens, the total population is 13,604,807.

The Czechoslovak State contains certain racial minorities, and, considering the prominent part the question of minorities has played for a long time in most States of Central Europe, the numerical relationship of the various racial elements represented in Czechoslovakia's population becomes of interest and importance. The census has established the following figures and percentages in the population of the republic:

		Per Cent.
Czechoslovaks .....	8,759,186	65.53
Russians .....	459,346	3.44
Germans .....	3,122,390	23.36
Magyars .....	745,935	5.58
Polish .....	75,656	.57
Jewish .....	180,332	1.35
Miscellaneous .....	23,235	.17
Total.....	13,366,080	100.00

When the last Austrian and Hungarian census in the same territories is considered, there is seen to be an increase in the Czechoslovak as well as in the Russian population, while the Germans, Magyars and Poles show a loss. The reason is obvious.

Under the Austro-Hungarian régime the subject nationalities were intimidated, and consequently no accurate information as to the racial composition of the empire was available. Also, in order to strengthen the ruling races, the Austrian census was based not upon nationality, but upon the so-called language of intercourse (*Umgangssprache*), a device which of itself was sufficient to prevent hundreds of thousands of Czechs from declaring their nationality.

In exact figures the Czechoslovak increase amounts to 722,108 (8.98 per cent.), while that of the Russians is 26,586 (6.14 per cent.). The German decrease is 625,150 (16.68 per cent.), the Magyar 325,395 (30.37 per cent.), Polish 91,146 (54.64 per cent.), whereas those figuring under the general title of miscellaneous have lost 29,186 (55.68 per cent.).

In additional explanation it should be said that the non-citizens do not figure in the above computation of the proportion of various elements of the republic's population. The striking decrease in the number of Poles is explained by the fact that a large number of these, under the option granted them by the peace treaties, now figure as aliens. The Germans have suffered not only because for the first time the census in this territory was fair, but also because the Jews could declare themselves members of their own Jewish na-

tionality, certainly a striking innovation, and one which, of course, shows the scrupulously fair treatment which the Jews enjoy under the new order of things. But since heretofore the Jews ordinarily declared themselves German, the new system correspondingly decreased the professed number of Germans. The ability of the Jews to call themselves Jews also affects the number of Magyars.

The figures, of course, explode the claim of German propagandists that there are more than 4,000,000 Germans in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, the problem of the German minority is the most serious which the republic is confronted with, and it is a pity that the number of Germans in no way could be reduced; such reduction was impossible, because the Germans do not live in contiguous territory, and because any other delimitation of boundaries would have sacrificed large numbers of Czechs and Slovaks, even if we do not consider the problem of natural boundaries and questions of historical importance, which, after all, cannot even now be completely ignored.

The question of the legal status of minorities, as well as of their treatment in practice, is, of course, always a pertinent one. The Czechoslovak Constitution and the laws based upon it are very clear as to the rights of all citizens, regardless of race, language or religion. In towns and districts where there is living a considerable fraction of Czechoslovak citizens speaking a language other than Czechoslovak, the children of such citizens are guaranteed a due opportunity to receive instruction in the mother tongue. It is the duty of the courts, offices and organs of the republic, where jurisdiction relates to a district in which, according to the latest census, at least 20 per cent. of the citizens speak the same language—and where that language is other than Czechoslovak—to accept from any member of this minority any complaint in his language and to deal with such complaint or other official mat-

ter in the language of the original documents.

The peace treaties guarantee to the racial minorities in Czechoslovakia the use of their language in private and business matters, in matters of worship, in the press, in public meetings and before courts (with the proper facilities for its use). It is seen at a glance that Czechoslovak laws have accorded these minorities larger and more substantial rights than demanded or contemplated by the Paris treaties.

Whenever there is any complaint, it is usually by the Germans, and these complaints ordinarily relate to schools. Under the Austrian régime of forcible denationalization many Czechoslovak children were forced to attend German schools, and it is estimated that already about 50,000 of these children have returned where they belong, viz., to Czechoslovak schools, and this has made certain German school buildings useless, or compelled their use for Czechoslovak instruction. But in no case have the authorities closed any school which had at least twenty pupils, and many with as few as ten attending children have been permitted to continue. The Germans have their press and use their language freely, even in cities overwhelmingly Czech. The use of German on the streets, in restaurants or any public place passes unnoticed, as any unprejudiced observer will readily testify.

As a matter of fact, and in order to be perfectly truthful, it is necessary to say that there is a considerable body of serious Czech opinion which accuses its own Government of not having done away, as yet, with old injustices, and of permitting the Germans to maintain their privileges in certain parts of the republic. I am not in a position to deny at least a color of justification to this charge, when it is recalled that within the areas where there is a certain German numerical preponderance Czechs must still rely upon the help of unofficial corporations, for instance, to maintain schools. Oppression of minorities, however, cannot successfully be charged to the Czechoslovak Republic.

# THE PASSING OF CONSTANTINE

By ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

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**W**HEN, on Sept. 27, 1922, King Constantine of the Hellenes gave up his throne and for the second time took the road to exile, one of the most striking figures in modern Greek life passed into history, closing one of its stormiest chapters, and at the same time marking a decided turn in the fortunes of Hellenism.

Constantine was born in Athens on Aug. 3, 1868, the son of King George of the Hellenes, who in turn was the second son of King Christian IX. of Denmark, and had assumed the Greek throne following the dethronement of King Atho and Queen Olga (Princess Olga Constantinovna of Russia).

Many causes had contributed to the overthrow of King Atho and Queen Amelia, who were the first rulers of Greece, prior to King George's accession to the throne. One of these causes was the fact that the royal pair who ruled Greece from 1832 to 1862 failed to give their people an heir to the throne. This is important, because it illustrates a point easily understood: Atho and Amelia were both foreign born, and the Greeks wanted a Greek-born King, who would grow to be like one of themselves.

There were, however, other reasons that made King Atho unpopular with the powers of Europe and with the Greeks themselves, and some of the causes of the overthrow and exile of that King are curiously identical with the causes that have brought about the elimination of Constantine.

Greece, as students of history know, declared her independence from Turkey on April 7, 1821, and in December of the same year the first National Assembly was called together at Epidaurus in the Peloponnesus, and Alexander Mavrocordatos, a Phanariot Prince, became first President

of the Hellenic State. Following a series of internal dissensions, which accompanied the revolution against Turkey, G. Coundouriotis succeeded Mavrocordatos in the Presidency, and finally, while Greece was approaching liberation, a third President was found in the person of Ioannis Capodistrias, a Greek from Corfu, whose family had been ennobled by the Republic of Venice, and who at the time of his election held an important position in the Russian diplomatic service under Czar Alexander.

Capodistrias came to Greece full of enthusiasm and eager to reorganize the country; but he was unfamiliar with local conditions, he minimized the sufferings and the hardships of those plain folk who had made the revolution and liberated their country after eight years of unequal struggle, and finally he imposed on those people all the rigors of an autocratic, absolutist and bureaucratic policy. To this the Greeks objected, and Capodistrias, who from January, 1828, to October, 1831, did his best according to his lights to organize Greece, not only failed miserably, but even provoked a revolution against his own person, the indirect result of which was his assassination in Nauplia. From that time up to January, 1832, the country lapsed into anarchy, and it was after much debate between Great Britain, France and Russia that it was decided to make the country a monarchy under Prince Otho, a younger son of the King of Bavaria.

The first King of Greece came to Nauplia, then the capital of the kingdom, in February, 1833, and because he was very young a regency was appointed to rule the country till 1837. This regency was made up of three Bavarian officers, who in their work of organization committed the same mistakes as Capodistrias, by imposing an intolerable militarism that made the Greek people rise in revolt and demand



a Constitution. This was granted by Otho in 1843, but even under a constitutional régime the Bavarian system of oppression continued. This oppression, coupled with the fact that there was no issue from the royal marriage, and strengthened by Europe's disapproval of the frank irredentism of King Otho, prepared the way for the second revolution of 1862, when Otho and Amelia were dethroned and exiled.

It is universally acknowledged today among Greeks that those who brought about the overthrow of Otho and Amelia were the innocent victims of a European plot against that sovereign, and that Otho, notwithstanding his other faults, was passionately devoted to Greece. Otho never made any secret of his ardent wish to see the liberation of the entire Hellenic population of the Near East. Moreover, he acted continuously under that impulse, although he had to face the opposition of Great Britain and France, both then as now solicitous of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. So the Europe of his time was decidedly displeased with this King who openly displayed his Greek patriotism, acted as an enemy of Turkey, and appeared in the rôle of troublemaker in the Near East. To begin with, Otho dressed in the Greek national costume; he was busy organizing the national forces with the object of attacking Turkey at the opportune moment in order to liberate that Greater Greece which was enslaved by the Turks, all the way from Thessaly to Constantinople and beyond. King Otho of Greece was both a dreamer and a practical diplomat. Thus he was eager to attack Turkey during the Crimean War, when Russia took up arms against the Sultan. At that time, however, Great Britain and France were fighting against Russia on the side of Turkey, and Otho had to submit to their threats, inasmuch as their fleets had already blockaded the ports of Greece. Otho was the first Greek King to visit Smyrna in the time of his reign. He was dethroned chiefly because he was not wanted there by the European powers, whose aim was to keep Greece weak and small. His dethronement, however, was brought about by the Greeks themselves, because they were displeased with his internal policy. It was, nevertheless, facil-

itated by Europe, whose diplomats knew how to use Greek displeasure against their King.

In 1863 Prince George of Denmark was elected King of the Hellenes by the National Assembly at the age of 17. After coming of age he married Olga, and Constantine was the first of five sons and two daughters. King George ruled Greece for fifty years by the simple process of steering clear of King Otho's course. He never sought to be too much of a patriot; he was a lovable man, very pleasant, very witty, extremely popular, good looking, intelligent and carefree. When he ascended the Greek throne, he gave solemn promise to the powers, and chiefly to Great Britain, that he would make Greece a factor of peace in the Near East. This meant that Greece would not try to make trouble with Turkey, and that Greek irredentism was to take a long vacation. Great Britain was satisfied, and the transfer of the Ionian Islands to Greece was an advance reward for good behavior.

The war of 1897 came in spite of all efforts of King George, because Greek irredentism would simply not stay down, and because Crete wanted to be united with Greece. The Greek Army was beaten in the field, but Crete was freed from the Turks, and that was more than compensation enough.

Following that war, Greek dissatisfaction with King George began to be manifest. After all, the Greeks did not wish to have a King who took no active interest in the affairs of the country. Their dissatisfaction took the form of a military coup in August, 1909, a year after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, which overthrew Abdul Hamid. The Greek revolt stopped short of expulsion of the dynasty, because the European powers made it clear that they would not approve such a change. Nevertheless, a new era began in the national life of Greece; the old régime was condemned, and Mr. Eleutherios Venizelos became the standard bearer of the new Greece, which was no more to be directed by Europe and King George, but by its own views and interests.

The Balkan wars were the outcome of this policy, which coincided with a similar policy on the part of the other Balkan States, for all those States were tired of

European tutelage. With the Balkan wars terminated the career of King George, assassinated in Saloniki by a degenerate.

#### REIGN OF CONSTANTINE

King Constantine now came to the throne as the embodiment of the militant spirit of this new Greece. His was the task to do what his father had neglected to do in the fifty years of his reign. His was the task to follow in the footsteps of Otho; his was the mission to reconstitute the old Byzantine Empire. He was the Constantine who was to redeem the City of Cities lost to the Turk by another Constantine. And Venizelos was there to help him do that.

Constantine, as we have said, was born in 1868, and he received the appropriate education for his position at the hands of all that was best in the Greek world of learning. His military education was acquired at the Military Academy of Athens, his physical training was accomplished under English supervision, his political inspiration came from the study of Greek history in all its aspects, and finally the arts of war and self-discipline he acquired in Germany, where he went to perfect his military education. It was while studying there that Constantine met the young Princess Sophia, daughter of the unhappy Emperor Frederick and sister of his successor, Emperor William II. Shortly afterward, in 1889, Constantine married Sophia in the presence of the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII.; Czarevich Nikolai-Alexandrovich, later Czar Nicholas II.; the King and Queen of Denmark, and representatives from every Court and government of Europe. This was the happy union which bound Constantine to the sister of the Kaiser in 1889, at which time nobody could either foresee or expect the torrents of abuse that were to be turned on the King of the Hellenes on that account nearly thirty years after the event. From this marriage three sons and three daughters were born: George, the present King; Alexander, who became King in 1917 and died in 1920; Paul who is serving with the Greek Navy, Princess Helen—married to the crown Prince of Rumania and the Princesses—Irene and Catherine.

From 1890 to 1913 Constantine was not heard of much outside of Greece; he was

engrossed in his military duties, traveled but little, and devoted the rest of his time to the study of the great national issues he would have to face on assuming the throne. The disastrous war of 1897 wounded his pride deeply, and from that time on he took to heart the reorganization of the Greek Army, which gave a splendid account of itself during the Balkan wars. Soon thereafter the World War broke over Europe, and it was on the question of entering the struggle immediately or of waiting for the proper time that King Constantine disagreed with his Premier to the lasting misfortune of the Hellenic Nation.

#### CONSTANTINE AND VENIZELOS

Most critics, when they write about this quarrel, follow the easiest way, which is summed up in the statement that Constantine was pro-German and Venizelos pro-ally, while the Greek people are represented as having been wholeheartedly on the side of either the one or the other leader, according to the sympathies of the critic.

In order to do justice to both, it is probably well to say that the disagreement between the two men has a deeper foundation than mere pro-Germanism or pro-Ententism. In the mind of Constantine, who grew up under the spell of a great tradition, and who looked for inspiration in Greek history alone, Europe, taken as a whole, was a highly complicated organism, whose interests militated against the very idea of a Greater Greece. This European organism, Constantine thought, did not favor the expansion of a country like Greece at the expense of a country like Turkey. The Ottoman Empire, in the eyes of King Constantine and his followers, has always been a miniature China, the wealth, resources and development of which ought to remain in the hands of the Sultan for eventual transmission to this or that power of Europe. Turkey under the Turks was open for European exploitation; Turkey under Greek control might become a field for Greek exploitation alone. Constantine, being a military man, could not view the Eastern Question in any other light, and, thinking as the aver-

age Greek does, he distrusted Europe and believed in a strong Greece able to take care of itself and unwilling to take chances.

Mr. Venizelos being a Greek, it is not possible that he trusts Europe any more than did Constantine. But, being a politician, he thought that there were many others besides the direct way of serving Greece's interests. He succeeded in earning the confidence of Europe by sacrificing such things as national dreams and popular traditions to what he thought practical politics and the exigencies of the hour. He thought of Greece, not as an isolated State, but as a part of the Balkan organism, and, more generally, of the European organism. He would sooner have a smaller Greece in a solid Balkan Federation than a Greater Greece surrounded by enemies. He would rather give up the dream of Constantinople reconquered than have the Greeks continue on the path of chasing that elusive rainbow. He would rather transfer the Greeks of Turkey to Greek lands, in exchange for the Turks of Greece who would have to be sent to Turkey, than go to war to liberate populations who were undoubtedly Greek from every point of history, geography and tradition, but who could never revert to Greece without endangering the whole political fabric of the Near East. Constantine remained a dreamer, and he fell a victim to his honest convictions. Venizelos, on the contrary, is by nature a fixer and a practical man. The conflict between these two men represented more than anything else a clash between lofty aspirations and practical politics.

When Constantine, early in 1915, refused to go to the Dardanelles, he did so because Russia opposed Greek participation in the event of allied occupation of Constantinople. When later in the same year he refused to march against Bulgaria, he stated that Greek assistance could not have saved Serbia, while Greece would have suffered the fate of her ally and of Belgium, Rumania, and the provinces of France and Italy occupied by the victorious Germans in quick succession during that time. Constantine always complained of the Allies' lack of confidence in him. He saw things plainly and spoke boldly,

oblivious of the fact that small countries, like small children, ought not to say aloud what they think of the actions of the grown ups.

Mr. Venizelos, on the contrary, was diplomatic enough to express as often as necessary, and more, his real or feigned admiration for everything the Allies said or did during the war. He shaped his Greek policy so as to fit a given European pattern, while Constantine wanted modern Greece to dress according to the ideals and aspirations of the Greek race, irrespective of current styles.

#### FATAL HANDICAPS IMPOSED

Allied intervention during the war was so clumsy and at times so grotesque that a proud people like the Greeks felt it deeply, and when, following the dethronement of Constantine by the Allies in June, 1917, Mr. Venizelos came to power with foreign help, he found his task so difficult that he had to impose discipline by means so unpopular that he lost even his seat in Parliament in the general election of Nov. 14, 1920, when his party was all but annihilated at the polls.

Constantine was then brought back by a triumphant people and found the country engaged in the great Asia Minor war, which was not of his making, because his program did not include an expeditionary campaign across the sea. He was in favor of going to Asia Minor, provided this could be done by land, that is to say, after Thrace was annexed and Constantinople occupied by Greek troops. Greece, however, had been in Asia Minor since May 15, 1919, and Constantine had to take a stand, both before his own people and before the world at large. As a military man he must have known that the outcome of the Asia Minor campaign would at best be very doubtful. Had he been a selfish man, he could have called back the expedition. But to do so would imply that his régime was sacrificing a national claim which Venizelos had established in Asia Minor when he landed Greek troops at Smyrna. In this way he continued a policy which he knew to be unsound, no matter how patriotic.

King Constantine had come back to Greece fully resolved to abandon all man-

agement of public affairs to his Ministers and the National Assembly. Neither his Ministers nor the legislative body, however, had the ability or the initiative to do anything heroic in the foreign policy of the country, and thus the whole burden of failure fell on the shoulders of a man who, according to the Greek Constitution, is not responsible for the acts of his Government.

At this point stress must be laid on the fact that Greece, since the overthrow of the Venizelos régime, had been practically blockaded by the Allies, including America; that her sovereign was not recognized as such by the Allies; that no loan or other assistance was given the country exhausted by a decade of bloody wars; and that all the while Turkey had the moral and material support of the same powers, which under normal circumstances should have been on the side of Greece. That

the morale of the Hellenic Army broke down under such conditions is not astonishing, and that Constantine was forced to a second abdication by this self-same army was the natural outcome of things.

Those who most bitterly attack Constantine base their hostility on his pro-Germanism, on his absolutism, and on his alleged betrayal of the allied cause, whatever that means, in the year of grace 1922. For a number of Greeks King Constantine will remain a martyr to the Hellenic cause, who fought against the whole world and lost. For another group of Greeks he will continue to be regarded as the man who destroyed Mr. Venizelos's achievements. History will probably say of him that he was a good man burdened with a great tradition and faced by the tremendous task of reconstituting an empire at a time when empires were crumbling.

## SOLVING THE NEGRO PROBLEM

A BOOKLET entitled "The Negro In Chicago," published by the University of Chicago Press, contains the findings of the Commission on Racial Relations appointed by Governor Lowden of Illinois soon after the Chicago race riots in July, 1919. This commission was headed by Edgar A. Bancroft and consisted of six negroes and six white members, among whom were Victor F. Lawson, Julius Rosenwald and Professor Francis W. Shepardson of the University of Chicago. Its recommendations apply to the whole negro problem as it affects every State in the Union. The solution, according to the commission, must be "in harmony with the fundamental law of the nation, and with its free institutions." Such proposals as the deportation of negroes, the establishment of a negro State on a larger scale than Liberia, where our entire negro population might be "dumped," and complete segregation, do not fit in with our national tradition and must be dismissed. The report stresses the conviction that negro transgressions "are due to circumstances of position, rather than to distinct racial traits." The constructive side is rep-

resented by fifty-nine recommendations to citizens of both races, by the observance of which it is believed that the situation will be greatly remedied. Among these are:

That the police and militia work out at once a detailed plan for joint action to control race riots.

That militia, black and white, be mobilized at the beginning of the outbreak; that street cars be guarded; that all rioters be arrested immediately, regardless of color, promptly tried and speedily punished.

That especial efforts be made to punish hoodlums who bomb the homes of negroes, this being one of the chief causes of outbreaks.

That the negro residence district be immediately cleared of all vice resorts.

That particular attention be given to "athletic clubs," so called, made up in large part of hoodlums, loafers, and troublemakers—a fruitful source of race conflict. These are to be closed if necessary.

The more stringent control of the sale of firearms and other deadly weapons.

The condemnation and razing of all houses unfit for human habitation, for which negroes are now charged exorbitant rentals.

The establishment of night schools and community centres and strict enforcement of the compulsory education laws for both whites and negroes.



# THE BURNING OF SMYRNA

By ABDULLAH F. HAMDI

A native of Constantinople, now a resident of New York (electrical engineer)

THE destruction of Smyrna by fire was the work of the Greeks. The Constantinople newspaper, the Vakit (Times), published a proclamation by the General commanding at Smyrna, promulgated a few days before the burning, in which he gave orders to burn the City of Smyrna rather than surrender it to the Turks. This was in confirmation of previous proclamations. The following is an extract of an important statement in the Vakit of Sept. 20, 1922:

When it became evident that the Greeks could not hold Asia Minor, the Greeks were careless enough to speak just a little too loud about their [Greek] plan of burning the whole country before evacuating it. Both official and unofficial Greek newspapers have written that they [the Greeks] would burn the whole of Asia Minor. The announcements of the local defense organizations [Greek] in Smyrna repeated the same thing. Foreigners have seen and heard of these things. The newspaper Imbros (Athens), of March 30, 1922, wrote:

شماره ۱۰۰۰ (۱۰۰۰) ۳۰ مارس ۱۹۲۲  
نسخه‌ای از خبری که در روزنامه  
صوفی از سمرقند و از آنجا که این  
روزنامه در سمرقند چاپ شده و  
آلشون و طه تا به امین ایبره  
و در کول اینک اولاد.

Turkish passages,  
translations of which  
appear at right.

دول وارد و معارفه از سمرقند  
اعلای سمرقند و از آنجا که این  
روزنامه در سمرقند چاپ شده و  
آلشون و طه تا به امین ایبره  
و در کول اینک اولاد.

"If the Angora Government forces want Smyrna and Thrace, let them come; we will rather burn the whole country than give it to them intact."

And, finally, General Papoulos of the Greek Army, in a speech he made in the Ava Fotina Church in Smyrna, said, among other things:

"If the Allies decide to force us [Greeks] to evacuate our present positions, we will burn the whole country, including Smyrna and Thrace. We will cause such ravage that for a century the Turks will remember that we [Greeks] passed through their land. This plan will be carried out by the Greek Army. There is no force on earth that can prevent the carrying out of these plans."

The foregoing utterances, quoted from Greek authorities and here reproduced in the Turkish text, as well as in translation, foreshadowed the Smyrna catastrophe.



Burning of Smyrna, photographed from an American vessel which was anchored near shore and which rescued hundreds of the homeless refugees

# KEMAL PASHA

By CLAIR PRICE

*A brilliant sketch of the new leader of the Turks—From early youth a passionate revolutionist against the old regime—"One of the hardest and soberest leaders of the world today"*

**F**ORTY years ago, when Abdul Hamid II. was Sultan in Constantinople and the Crescent and Star still floated over Saloniki, an underling in the Saloniki Customs Office died, leaving his widow with a small daughter and an infant son. The daughter in time grew up and married. The son was intended by his mother for the mosque school and the career of a hoja, but he became fascinated by the uniforms of the army officers whom he saw about the streets, as is the way of Turkish sons.

In time he succeeded in passing the examinations for the military preparatory school at Saloniki, where his mathematics teacher became so fond of him that he left off calling him by his given name of Mustapha and dubbed him Kemal, a Turkish name meaning "rightness." Today the name by which his mathematics teacher once knew him as a soft boy at Saloniki has become the name by which the world knows him as a man of iron at the mud town of Angora in Asia Minor. Today Abdul Hamid, Enver Pasha and Damad Ferid Pasha, one after the other, have dropped out of the story, although for the first twenty-eight years of Mustapha Kemal Pasha's life—he is forty-one today—Abdul Hamid looms above him like a great black djinn above a wanderer on a lonely horizon.

Abdul Hamid was an apostle of absolutism. He was a great Eastern absolutist in a day when the West was abandoning absolutism. He maintained his absolute rule by such a system of espionage that the life and liberty of no Ottoman subject was safe who was remotely suspected of having heard of the French revolution—a system of espionage which could not keep Western governmental ideas out of the capital, but

which could, and did, keep them underground. In any Eastern population such as Abdul Hamid's, in which a great fighting tradition sucks the best brains of the country into the army, the network of espionage which radiated from Yildiz Kiosk had the effect of giving the army a sort of dual existence. On the surface it continued to be a splendid military organism, the trustee of the great military tradition of the Ottoman clan. But beneath the surface it was a ferment of forbidden political ideas. The example of nihilism in Russia found no more fertile element to work upon than the yeasty mentality of the War Academy and the Military College of Medicine in Constantinople. But if a secret society calling itself the Society of Liberty was being formed among the students at the War Academy, if a similar society calling itself the Society of Progress was being formed among the students at the Military College of Medicine, both were off-stage movements. It was Abdul Hamid, and Abdul Hamid alone, on whom the footlights shone.

The military preparatory school at Saloniki, the officers' school at Monastir and the War Academy at Constantinople finally graduated Kemal, a headstrong youth of 22, into the army in 1902 with the rank of lieutenant. He had hardly reached the War Academy from Monastir before his adolescent mind became tainted by the political ferment with which the great school was secretly permeated. A copy of Kemal Bey's forbidden play, "Watan" (The Fatherland), fell into his hands. Abdul Hamid had caused every known copy of the play to be confiscated and burned. He had forced its author, despite his very high place in modern Turkish literature, to flee to England,

where he spent the rest of his days in exile. He had driven out of the capital every Ottoman subject whom his spies suspected of having read "Watan." But "Watan" gave the young Kemal his first taste of Western ideas of government and made him secretly a bitter opponent of Abdul Hamid, which, at the time, was a rather ridiculous thing to be.

Kemal had no sooner been graduated into the army than he engaged a small apartment in the Stamboul section of Constantinople to serve as headquarters of the secret Society of Liberty, permitting an acquaintance, whom he trusted and who represented himself as being penniless, to sleep in the apartment at night. As a result, Kemal was arrested, taken to Yildiz Kiosk to be questioned, and, after three months' confinement in a cell at the Ministry of Police, was exiled to a cavalry regiment in Damascus. Fresh from the War Academy, fired with the spirit of revolution and schooled in the technique of revolution he spent his time here in organizing local branches of the Society of Liberty, until he became convinced that work in Syria was a mistake and that the inevitable scene of Turkish revolution would be Turkey-in-Europe. Accordingly, he escaped to Alexandria and finally succeeded in reaching Saloniki via the Piraeus, for Saloniki was already becoming the mecca of Turkish revolution.

Here he worked in hiding for four months before Constantinople discovered his presence and made it necessary for him to flee to Akaba, where a convenient outbreak of trouble gave him an alibi which served to smooth down the ruffled feelings of Constantinople. He stayed in Syria until a change of War Ministers in Constantinople made it possible for him to apply for and secure a transfer to the Third Army's Staff at Saloniki. Back in Saloniki again, he merged the Society of Liberty into the Society of Progress, a merger whose organization took the name of the Committee of Union and Progress and whose forces were now strongly entrenched in Saloniki, Monastir and Uskub. And almost at once there occurred a terrific turn in European politics, from which the Near East will not recover for a century to come.

Great Britain, which had been support-

ing Abdul Hamid against Russia, dropped the Sultan and joined hands with the Czar in the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, a treaty which frightened the Young Turks into the abortive revolution of 1908, with its frantic but futile bid for British support. In that revolution, in which Kemal participated on the Staff of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, commander of the Third Army, Abdul Hamid lost his absolutist régime, and in the attempted counter-revolution of 1909 Abdul Hamid was dragged down from the heights of Yildiz Kiosk to the depths of a Saloniki dungeon. But without British support the end of the old empire was now only a matter of time. The revolution of 1908 succeeded only to fail. The installation of the Committee of Union and Progress in Grand Constantinople proved to be a mere coup d'état, and at the ensuing congress at Saloniki Kemal broke with Enver Pasha in a violent personal quarrel which remains unreconciled to this day. The rule of Abdul Hamid had been succeeded by the rule of Enver and his colleagues, and Kemal withdrew from politics in bitter disillusionment.

During the ensuing years, when the empire was crumbling to its end, Kemal's life was that of the Turkish army officer. Enver exiled him to Tripoli; Izzet Pasha returned him to Saloniki; Mahmoud Shevket took him to Albania, and Enver sent him back to Tripoli to command native irregulars during the war with Italy. Without British support the crash of the old empire had begun. During the first Balkan war Kemal was permitted to twiddle his thumbs on the Dardanelles, but it was he who was called on to recapture Adrianople when the opportunity offered. When Enver joined Germany in 1914 in a last desperate gamble for the life of the empire, Kemal threw up his post of Military Attaché at Sofia and returned to Constantinople, still a young man, but a man with a brilliant past, a hatred of Enver, which was both personal and political, and a degree of personal prestige which made it no longer possible to disregard him.

Kemal was convinced from the first that the empire was in no condition to enter the war, but Enver gave him the Nineteenth Division and dispatched him to the Dardanelles, possibly hoping that a British

bullet might put an end to him. Here Kemal's high military abilities and unvarying luck eventually gave him command of the entire Turco-German force on the peninsula, and his success in throwing back the British before Anaforta is the most brilliant achievement of his military career. It made him a great hero in Germany at once, but it was not until its story was told in the Committee Year Book for 1917 that Enver inadvertently permitted it to leak out in Constantinople; then, two years later, the Turkish papers began printing the story of Anaforta and Enver caused the entire issue of the year book to be confiscated and destroyed. By that time it had become politically dangerous to mention Kemal's name in the capital.

Alarmed at his popularity, Limon von Sanders secured Kemal's transfer to the Russian front as soon as the British had evacuated the Dardanelles. On the Russian front Kemal was appointed Major General and given the Sixteenth Army, but he came into speedy conflict with Falkenhayn over the project to recapture Bagdad from the British. Throwing up his command in protest, Kemal returned to Aleppo, and on Sept. 30, 1917, dispatched to Enver a lengthy statement of his position. In this remarkable statement, written at a moment when the entire country was expecting a German victory, Kemal declared that the corruption of the Government at Constantinople, the disruption of the country's economic life and the constant drainage of the country's gold away to Germany could have but one end. Great Britain and France could not be divided, and they could not be beaten. Great Britain would conquer Palestine, would set up a Christian Government under its own control with which to hold the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and Egypt, and would isolate Turkey from the rest of Islam—"a sound war policy made possible by our frivolous entry into the war against England, a policy whose success means irreparable loss for us and whose failure means German domination for us. \* \* \* Falkenhayn has said repeatedly to any one who will listen to him that he is a German and is naturally interested first in Germany. If he can hold Palestine, he will place himself before the world and before our country as one of the great victors of

the war. We shall then lose our own country; and to this end Falkenhayn will sacrifice every ounce of gold and every soldier he can squeeze out of us."

Enver's reply to this warning was to give Falkenhayn command on the Palestine front and to exile Kemal to Germany in the suite of the Crown Prince (now the Sultan). Kemal spent a year touring Germany and Austria-Hungary in disgrace before the soundness of his warning had become apparent beyond further cavil. Then Enver recalled him and gave him the Yilderim group (Fourth, Seventh and Eighth Armies) on the Palestine front. But it was too late. Kemal reached his post just as Allenby's great breakthrough brought the empire crashing down to its end. Kemal halted his retreat in Adana, where a cipher telegram from Constantinople told him that Raouf Bey was on his way to Mudros to sign an armistice with the British. It was the end of the world for Kemal.

He returned to the capital to find that Constantinople had fallen into such disorder as can scarcely be imagined. The Committee of Union and Progress had fled, and the feeble reactionary Liberal Entente Party, the old opposition party, was lifting Damad Ferid Pasha into succession to Talaat and Enver. The Parliament had been prorogued, and the capital was drifting without a leader into the most complete confusion. British troops were in occupation of the Pera and Galata section of Constantinople, French troops were holding the Stamboul section, Italian troops were on the Asiatic shore and men-of-war of all three Allies were anchored in the Bosphorus, the British contingent leading with a number of battleships which had been hurried down from the demobilized Grand Fleet in the North Sea. French troops held the railways of Turkey-in-Europe, and British troops not only held the railways of Asia Minor, but formed an iron ring around the remnant of the old empire, occupying Transcaucasia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Syria and a number of ports on the Mediterranean and Black Sea shores of Asia Minor.

Under the terms of the Mudros armistice, the Turkish navy had been surrendered and interned at Constantinople, and the Turkish armies were being rapidly dis-



armed and demobilized. And if there had been any hope that the disappearance of Russia from the Anglo-Russian alliance would make possible the recovery of that understanding with Great Britain which Abdul Hamid had lost with such disastrous effect in 1907, it was speedily dissipated by the note which the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Phanar dispatched to the Porte on March 9, 1919, severing their relations. It had then become apparent that Venizelos and political Hellenism had succeeded to the place in the old Anglo-Russian alliance, which Russia had vacated.

Backed by the overwhelming strength of the victorious British arms, the new Anglo-Hellenist rapprochement was even more dangerous to the disarmed remnant of Turkey than the old Anglo-Russian alliance had been to the late empire, and with the Allies in occupation of Constantinople itself Kemal knew that it was useless to attempt to brace the broken and chaotic capital against the new doom which was ready to burst upon it. Accordingly, he left Constantinople for Asia Minor to escape allied surveillance for a sufficient period of time to enable him to form a new political party, which, working under the terms of the Mudros armistice, should compel Damad Ferid to re-assemble Parliament and enable the country to consider its future.

Damad Ferid soon realized that his War Minister had been guilty of a gross blunder in giving Kemal a free hand in Asia Minor, and he quickly telegraphed Kemal to return to the capital. Kemal ignored the telegram and Ferid dismissed him from the Army, a length to which Enver had never dared go. There now began a bitter factional fight between Ferid and Kemal. Ferid's provincial officials in Asia Minor arresting Kemal's agents and deporting them to Constantinople, while Kemal's agents began arresting Ferid's officials and setting up Kemalist provincial administrations in their places. In its blackest moment Turkey had split.

But the Greek occupation of Smyrna on May 15, 1919, showed what might be expected of the new Anglo-Hellenic rapprochement and sent whole provinces in Asia Minor scurrying to Kemal. Its effect was that Ferid lost Asia Minor to Ke-

mal, although for two years he attempted to regain a foothold beyond the Bosphorus; and in the Delibash revolution of October, 1920, he did succeed in regaining Konia. Three days afterward, however, Rafet Pasha reinstated the Kemalist Administration; but Ferid's agents continued to move back and forth under the coasts of Asia Minor with their eyes on Konia, until last Summer, when Kemalist agents boarded the Khedivial liner *Palatina* at Adalia, discovered Topal Osman and four confederates hidden in the cargo hold and shot them down. That incident effectively put an end to Ferid's attempts to re-enter Asia Minor. Kemal's hold on Asia Minor today is unquestionable.

The Greek occupation of Smyrna led Kemal to tear up the Mudros armistice, but he continued to direct his efforts toward the building up of a Nationalist majority in the Parliament at Constantinople. He now moved his headquarters to Angora, a town of mud and malaria, which happened to be within easy communication of Constantinople, both by rail and wire. Here a group of twelve leaders of his now powerful Nationalist Party drew up the National Pact and dispatched it to Ferid's Parliament in Constantinople, which adopted it on Jan. 28, 1920, "declaring the principles therein announced to be the limit of sacrifice to which the Ottoman Parliament can consent to go in order to assure itself a just and lasting peace."

The British military command in Constantinople now suppressed the Parliament by arresting and deporting to Malta as many of its Nationalist Deputies as could be found. But the long effort which Kemal had made to build up a Nationalist majority in the Parliament did not come to naught. The arrival of scores of Nationalists, who had fled from Constantinople on the famous night of March 16, now made it possible for Kemal to set up a solidly Nationalist Parliament at Angora. The Grand National Assembly was convened at Angora on April 23 for the sole purpose of executing the National Pact, and in the remnant of the great empire over which Abdul Hamid had once wielded his absolute rule, Field Marshal Mustapha Kemal Pasha had finally become master.

Thereafter Ferid lasted long enough at Constantinople to see the Sèvres Treaty signed at Paris on Aug. 11, but when it became apparent that he would be unable to ratify it, he was finally dropped from office. The Sèvres Treaty was the handiwork of Anglo-Hellenism. Briefly, it proposed to close the Greek pincers about Constantinople, to cut it off from Asia Minor with a garrison restricted to 700 men, and to place what remained of Turkey in Asia Minor under the permanent military, financial and economic control of Great Britain, France and Italy. Had it been ratified, it would have put an end not only to the Ottoman Empire, but to Turkey itself, and the possibility of securing its ratification was not abandoned without a struggle.

The National Assembly had scraped together sufficient Turkish forces to maintain touch with the Greeks along a front which followed the line of the Bagdad Railway from Eski-Shehr to Afium-Karahissar, but with its navy taken over by the British under the terms of the armistice, it was unable to contest the Greek command of its coasts; and the Greek rear in Europe was, of course, quite out of the question. Bottled up in Asia Minor, the Assembly's only military contact with the Greeks was the frontal contact of the line from Eski-Shehr to Afium. With a British military mission now attached to the Greek high command, the Greeks encircled the left flank of the makeshift Turkish forces in front of Afium and sent them pell-mell into a disastrous defeat. Some seventy-five miles to the rear and only forty miles in front of Angora itself, they reformed on a north-and-south line along the Sakaria River, where Mustapha Kemal Pasha himself took command. Here the Greeks sought again to encircle their left, but Kemal pulled down his forces to meet them. Crossing the Sakaria south of the Turkish lines, the Greeks drove some fifty miles due east in a vain attempt to find the Turkish left. With the Turkish positions now shifted to an east-and-west line at a distance of some fifty miles southwest of Angora, the Greeks hammered away for twenty-one days in an effort to break through—a struggle which some day will be appreciated as one of the world's his-

toric battles. In Kemal's career it was almost as brilliant an episode as his victory before Anaforta in 1915.

In that engagement Anglo-Hellenism and its handiwork, the Sèvres Treaty, alike collapsed. From the date of the Sakaria it was only a matter of time until the National Assembly should dispose of sufficient strength to drive the Greeks into the sea. The inevitable end came at dawn on Aug. 26 last, when the Turkish offensive was launched against Afium-Karahissar, and at 10 P. M., Sept. 8, the Greek Administration of Smyrna town came officially to an end. Both before and after his occupation of Smyrna, Kemal's chief anxiety was to recover, on that new basis of equality which is laid down in the National Pact, the understanding with England which Abdul Hamid lost in 1907.

The now defunct Sèvres Treaty was the logical result of a sequence of leadership in Turkey which descended from Abdul Hamid to Enver to Damad Ferid. The ruin of Turkey today—whether it be just or unjust is irrelevant here—was accomplished under their leadership and not under Kemal's. History has not yet written its verdict on Kemal. Whether his revolution of 1920 will succeed in effectively introducing into Turkey those Western ideas of government, which Abdul Hamid once fought with all the espionage at his command—whether his revolution will succeed where Enver's revolution of 1908 failed, remains to be seen. All that one can say today is that Kemal has become the leader not only of his own country, but of all those Sunni Moslem countries between Constantinople and Kabul, which, until 1917, felt the full weight of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907.

I never think of Kemal without recalling him as I saw and talked with him last in a small room off the corridor of the Assembly building at Angora—a man with a face of iron beneath a great iron-gray kalpak. His eyes were hard and blue, his mouth was hard and thin-lipped, and the flash of much gold in his lower teeth gave sparkle to the hard incisiveness of his manner as he talked. Kemal is a man who sees things as they are. To me he is one of the strongest and soberest leaders in the world today.

# EVENTS OF A MONTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 10, 1922]



## UNITED STATES

**I**N a sweeping opinion rendered on Oct. 6 by Attorney General Daugherty and confirmed by President Harding, the sale or transportation of intoxicating beverages on all American ships, public and private, was prohibited, while any foreign vessel entering an American port with liquor on board as cargo or in stores, or even in a sealed case, was to be regarded as violating the Prohibition Enforcement law and dealt with accordingly. The new ruling applied to all American vessels even on the high seas, and to all foreign vessels within the three-mile limit of national territorial jurisdiction.

The far-reaching character of the new Government policy was emphasized by its application to foreign vessels calling at American ports while in transit. This was understood to mean that a foreign vessel carrying intoxicating liquors on board and leaving a foreign port for another foreign port would be violating the Volstead act if it stopped en route at an American port.

The decision created some consternation among foreign ship owners, and it was feared might lead to international complications. The first step in opposition was taken when an injunction restraining the Federal Government from seizing liquors carried as sea stores for the use of passengers and crew on Cunard and Anchor Line steamships was sought from United States District Judge Learned Hand on Oct. 11, and it was understood that other lines of foreign registry would join with these companies in their legal fight. On Oct. 12 Judge Hand issued a temporary injunction enjoining the local prohibition and customs authorities from molesting liquor on board the American steamers Finland and St. Paul, which were then in the Port of New York, and also the steamer Kroonland, now at Antwerp, Belgium. The hearing on the motion for a permanent injunction was to be held on Oct. 17.

The first result of the decision was that on Oct. 10 passenger steamships belonging to the United States Shipping Board began to disgorge

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Amsterdamer, Amsterdam

THE WORLD FINANCIAL PROBLEM

JOHN BULL: "If the boatman doesn't come we shall all sink together."

their liquor stocks. Four vessels in the Port of New York yielded a total of 4,000 bottles of whisky, wines and other liquors. These were transferred to the Army Base in Brooklyn.

It was stated in an Associated Press dispatch from Paris on Oct. 12 that the French Line had decided to fight the Washington ruling in the Supreme Court, and that in the event of an adverse decision it would move to obtain an appeal to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. The British lines also were understood to be in accord with the French company in that matter.

#### OHIO REFERENDUM ON WINE AND BEER

Ohio at the November election will vote on a State constitutional amendment to legalize the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer. The Supreme Court on Sept. 19 ordered Secretary of State Smith to place the proposal on the ballot in a mandamus action brought by the Association Opposed to Prohibition, sponsors of the amendment, after the Secretary had refused to certify the amendment for a vote. This refusal had been based on the ground that the amendment, even if adopted, would be without effect, in view of the operation of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead law, and would only entail an expense on the State in submitting it to the voters. It was said that the Anti-Saloon League would appeal the decision to the United States Supreme Court.

#### PERSHING WARNS AGAINST ARMY CUT

General Pershing on Oct. 3, in an address at the first annual convention of the Reserve Officers' Training Association in Washington, repeated his warning that a minimum of 150,000 enlisted men and 13,000 officers was necessary for all the duties expected of the army. He declared that this should be the lowest limit of army strength; that the primary mission of the regular army was the training of the National Guard and organized reserve forces of the country, and that this number of men was the minimum absolutely necessary.

#### SHIPPING BOARD VESSELS SOLD

The Government's fleet of 226 war-built wooden ships was sold on Sept. 12 at a private competitive sale by the United States Ship Emergency Fleet Corporation to George D. Perry of San Francisco for \$750,000. As it cost close to \$700,000 to build each of these vessels, the fleet was sold for virtually the cost of one ship. Most of these ships had been at anchor for months in the James River, and comprised practically the entire wooden fleet owned by the Shipping Board. The deal netted the Government a little more than \$3,318 a vessel, or nearly twice what it would have received had it carried out the deal of last August, when it contemplated selling 205 of the wooden ships for about \$430,500.

#### BONUS BILL PASSED AND VETOED

The Senate on Sept. 15 adopted the conference report on the Bonus bill by a vote of 36 to 17, and the measure was sent at once to the

[American Cartoon]



—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

#### HIS BONUS

President. On Sept. 19 President Harding returned the bill with a veto. He declared that the bill would establish a dangerous precedent, and that though he favored its purpose and regretted disappointing the veterans, he was compelled to consider the nation's welfare. He objected to the creation of "a treasury covenant to pay, which puts the burden variously estimated at between four and five billions upon the American people, not to discharge an obligation, which the Government must always pay, but to bestow a bonus which the soldiers themselves while serving in the World War did not expect."

On Sept. 20 the veto was considered by the two houses of Congress. The House overruled the veto by a vote of 258 to 54. In the Senate the motion to pass the bill over the President's veto resulted in: yeas 44, nays 28, a total of 72. Two-thirds of this total is forty-eight, so that the bonus supporters lacked four votes to carry their motion to put the bill on the statute books despite the President's disapproval.

#### TARIFF BILL SIGNED

On Sept. 19 the conference report on the Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 43 to 28. Five Republicans voted with the Democrats against the bill. Two Democrats joined the Republican majority in supporting the measure. On Sept. 21 the President signed the bill, which went into effect at midnight of the same day. As he signed the measure, the President turned to the members of Congress who witnessed the signature, and, referring to the law's elastic provision that gives the Executive the power to raise and lower rates affected by changing valuations, pronounced it "the greatest contribution toward progress in tariff-making in the nation's history."

The Treasury Department estimated that the annual revenue under the new law would average between \$350,000,000 and \$400,000,000, or



approximately \$100,000,000 above the annual returns under the Underwood law.

#### RAILROAD STRIKE SETTLED

The strike of the railway shopmen, which had seriously disorganized the business of the country, was practically settled on Sept. 13, when the Railroad Shops Crafts conference at Chicago announced that the striking railroad shopmen would be authorized to return to work individually on such railroads as accepted an agreement framed by the committee. The agreement made no specific reference to seniority rights, which had been the chief question in dispute between the men and the carriers, but expressly stipulated that the strikers should return to work under the prevailing rate of wages not later than thirty days after the signing of the agreement. There was no general acceptance of the agreement by the carriers as a whole, but the men were left to make their own terms with the individual roads. Up to Sept. 29, seventy-four railroads had signed the agreement, and so many more were planning acceptance that the strike was regarded as virtually settled.

#### ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS

The second session of the Sixty-seventh Congress adjourned sine die on Sept. 22. In the Senate, Mr. Smoot of Utah reviewed the accomplishments of the Republican Party, while Mr. Harrison of Mississippi attempted to show the failures of the Republicans. The chief features of the session may be summarized as follows:

Passage of the Permanent Tariff Revision and Soldiers' Bonus bills.

Creation of the Allied Debt Funding Commission.

Appropriation of \$20,000,000 for Russian relief.

Appointment of a "dirt farmer" on the Federal Reserve Board.

Co-operative marketing by farmers.

Regulation of grain futures, so as to meet the Supreme Court decision making the original Capper-Tincher law inoperative.

Creation of twenty-five more Federal Judges.  
Extension of the 3 per cent. immigration quota law for two years.

Scrapping of naval vessels in accord with the Arms Conference treaties.

Reorganization of the Patent Office with an increase in its force.

Reorganization of the basis of pay of army, navy and marine officers.

Decrease in personnel and expense of the army and navy.

Monthly payment of pensions.

Development of rivers and harbors.

Appropriation of \$7,500,000 to continue work on the Muscle Shoals power project.

Appropriation of \$1,500,000 to loan to farmers for seed grain.

Appropriation of \$500,000 for prosecution of war frauds.

Continuation of the wartime bonus pay of Federal employees.

#### COAL COMMISSION APPOINTED

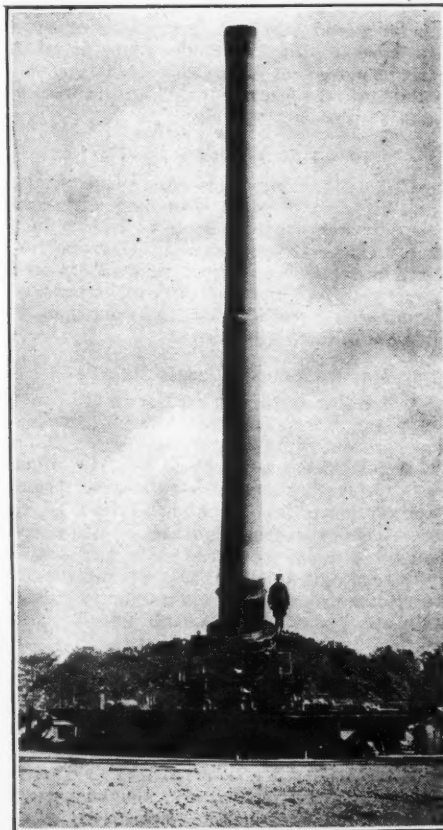
President Harding on Oct. 10 announced the appointment of the Fact Finding Coal Commission of seven men to study the coal industry and the problems developed by the recent strikes, and to make recommendations to Congress which may bring about legislation to prevent recurrent



(© Harris & Ewing)

REAR ADMIRAL  
C. S. WILLIAMS,  
new head of the  
Naval War College,  
succeeding Rear  
Admiral Sims

One of the monster guns of the United States Army which took part in the annual gun tests at Aberdeen, Md., early in October. It is a 16-inch army seacoast gun which fires a 2,340-pound projectile



(Underwood & Underwood)

labor troubles in the coal fields. The appointment of the commission had been authorized by Congress. The commission consists of four Republicans and three Democrats, among the latter being ex-Vice President Marshall.

It was expected that the commission would divide into subcommittees which would study the anthracite and bituminous coal fields separately. One of the relevant questions the commission is authorized to study is that of the nationalization of coal mines. The commission is required under the law to report to Congress as speedily as possible conditions existing in the coal fields as to wages and the cost of operation, as well as to make recommendations that may guide Congress in framing legislation to lessen coal strikes.

Fuel Distributor Spens stated on Oct. 11 that coal production was increasing at a marked and almost record-breaking rate, and that this was an indication of the effective railroad co-operation obtained in the attempt to make up deficiencies in the country's fuel supply, due to the miners' strike.

At the same time, however, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States gave out results of the survey it had made in co-operation with the Government, indicating that stocks of coal intended for domestic consumption in most parts of the country were practically non-existent, and that there was still a critical necessity for more coal to be moved into certain areas to replenish reserve stocks. The railroads were urged to maintain a movement of at least 11,000,000 tons of bituminous coal weekly, in order to provide an adequate surplus.

#### EQUALIZING WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The Cable bill, designed to equalize naturalization and citizenship rights of women with those of men, was approved on Sept. 22 by President Harding. Under its provisions an American woman will not lose her United States citizenship on marriage to an alien, and an alien woman will be required to qualify for naturalization independently of her husband.

#### INDICTMENTS FOR HERRIN DEATHS

A Special Grand Jury on the Herrin (Ill.) mine murders, which occurred on June 22, made a final report on Sept. 23. It handed up indictments which made a total of 214. Its report charged the authorities with failure to protect life and property and criticised owners of the mines as "either woefully ignorant of the danger, or blindly determined to risk strife and conflict if profit could be made." Of the indictments, 44 were for murder, 58 for conspiracy to murder, 58 for rioting, and 54 for assault with intention to murder.

#### WOMAN APPOINTED TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE

A woman from Georgia won the distinction of being the first of her sex to obtain an appointment to the United States Senate, when Mrs. W. H. Felton of Cartersville, Ga., long known as "the grand old woman of Georgia," was named on Oct. 3 by Governor Hardwick as Senator to

succeed the late Thomas E. Watson, until the November elections, when a successor would be chosen at the polls. Mrs. Felton is 87 years old, and has been prominent in State politics for nearly half a century. She accepted the office,



(Underwood & Underwood)

MRS. W. H. FELTON

United States Senator from Georgia, the first woman member of the Senate

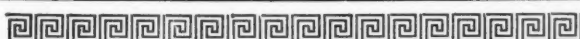
and in expressing her gratitude for the honor said: "It is going to thrill the nation when the news is conveyed from the Lakes to the Gulf that a woman has been chosen to become a member of the United States Senate."

#### PHILIPPINES

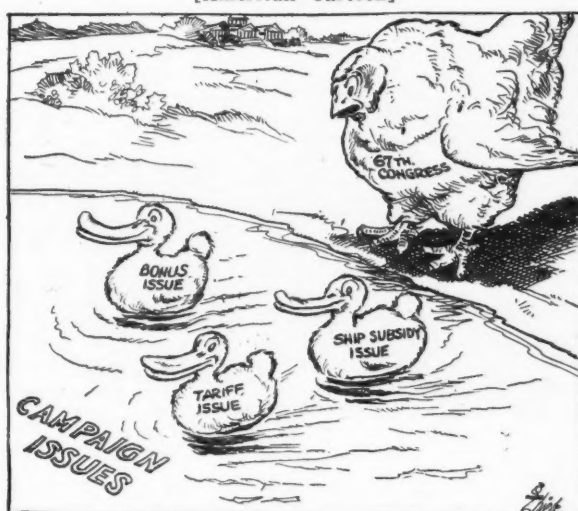
General Leonard Wood will retire from his post as Governor of the Philippines on Jan. 1 to become Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and political leaders in the islands have sent to President Harding a petition asking that a civilian be chosen for the next Governor General.

General Wood has been conducting a campaign to clean up Manila by deporting undesirables. Three Chinese and one British Indian have been sent home. Venancio Concepcion, formerly President of the Philippine Senate, who was convicted of misusing the funds of the Philippine National Bank, on Sept. 22 began serving a sentence of two years in the penitentiary. Seventy-seven persons charged with sedition and murder in the Santa Lucia Barracks riots two years ago, who were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment in chains, on Sept. 30 reached the United States Supreme Court with an appeal against the sentence on the constitutional ground forbidding cruel and unusual punishments.

More Philippine exports were carried in British ships than in American in 1921, according to



[American Cartoon]



—Sioux City Tribune

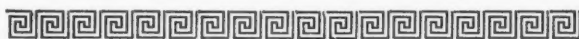
WHAT THE OLD HEN HATCHED OUT!

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

TAKING CARE OF THE BABY



figures of the Manila office of the Shipping Board. Exports totaled 765,885 tons, of which 257,390 tons were carried in 176 American vessels and 318,838 tons in 259 British vessels. There were 108,351 tons taken by 112 Japanese ships. Imports totaled 1,020,191 tons, of which American ships carried 413,122, British 282,691 and Japanese 255,001.

According to Washington dispatches of Sept. 25, an American official investigation has disclosed the fact that about 90 per cent. of the inhabitants of the Philippines have the hookworm infection and an educational and preventive campaign has been inaugurated.

The first national convention of the Collectivist Party, which carried both houses of the Philippine Legislature, adopted a platform on Oct. 9 favoring immediate and complete independence for the islands and curtailment of the Governor General's powers until independence becomes a fact. It calls for a Filipino republic with preferential treatment for American interests.

## ENGLAND

With the new Irish Government proving to be in capable control of affairs in the sister isle, and India fairly quiescent, the Near East crisis became the subject of chief political concern in England. At first the public refused to be diverted from the national interest in sport, but when the situation began to portend another war of wide proportions, genuine alarm resulted. Organized labor, as represented by the National Council of the British Labor Party, took the lead in denouncing the Government by the issue of a manifesto on Sept. 29, in which it protested against "the obstinate and persistent mishandling of the Near Eastern problem by the British Government." The Council declared that, if necessary, it would summon a conference of all affiliated organizations to try to avert another war. Later phases produced the growth of a political and newspaper campaign against the Premier which, in extent and influence, seemed to surpass the many similar efforts to overthrow him.

While here and there signs appeared of a quickening of home industry, there could still be discovered no general movement toward substantial recovery. It was be-

lieved that coal was too dear and railway freight too high. While small industries seemed to be more prosperous than the large ones, the statistics of unemployment showed very little change for the better. At the same time the cost of living in England had declined somewhat, being estimated in August as 81 per cent. above July, 1914. The high level of the recent period of inflation, that of November, 1920, was 176 per cent. above the pre-war year.

The British Admiralty issued a denial on Sept. 26 of a statement contained in a Washington dispatch that Great Britain had sent to the Near East any of her capital ships which were to be scrapped under the Washington Naval Treaty. In making the denial categorical and emphatic the Admiralty added: "Moreover, all these ships have long since unshipped their stores and ammunition, and have dismantled in readiness for the shipbreaker. In fact, several of them are in process of being broken up."

## IRELAND

After what was regarded as a critical first week for the Provisional Parliament, public opinion gladly admitted that the Irish Free State had passed through an initial period of uncertainty with considerable credit, and that the new Dail Eireann was a vast improvement upon its predecessor. Early in the proceedings the new Ministry obtained a firm grip on the House. All parties respected the Government's difficult position. In all divisions the Government had substantial majorities, noticeably so when its firm attitude toward the postal workers was challenged by the Labor members. In the absence of any Republican members, the Labor Party of sixteen, led by Thomas Johnson, constituted itself the official opposition. Although Labor members were expected to dispute some of the clauses of the Constitution, they were regarded as bound to the treaty by repeated party declarations that it had accepted the people's verdict.

President Cosgrave told the Irish Parliament on Sept. 13 that steps would be taken immediately to pay off American purchasers of Irish Republican bonds, and that Bishop Fogarty, Defense Minister Mulcahy and Deputy Hayes were appointed Trustees of the American fund. Bishop Fogarty and Deputy Hayes replaced Eamon de Valera and Stephen O'Mara. During the same meeting Home Minister O'Higgins announced that civil government would shortly be restored to a number of areas in the south taken from the irregulars by the National Army.

Permission was given the Government by Parliament on Sept. 18 to introduce a bill enacting a Constitution for the Irish Free State. In re-

[English Cartoon]



—Evening Express, Cardiff

### WALLED OUT

JOHN BULL: "I say, Sam, there seems to be no opening for our European goods, and your tariff wall is getting higher than ever. You don't seem to want to help us pay what we owe"

questing leave, President Cosgrave explained that the first part of the Constitution was vital to the treaty and must be passed; that the second part affected the Government's honor, and was in pursuance of the late President Griffith's undertaking to the southern Unionists to safeguard the representation of minorities, and that, as the third part contained articles not vital to the treaty, the House would have a free hand on these. On the subject of making application for admission to the League of Nations, a course made necessary by the terms of the Constitution, Foreign Minister Fitzgerald said: "We recognize that we are only in the chrysalis state, but when the Constitution is passed and a stable Government is established it will be possible to make the application."

The Government decided that the Supreme Court of Judicature, comprising the various courts which formerly sat in the Four Courts Building, be permanently established in Dublin Castle.

A list of salaries for the duration of the Provisional Parliament was voted on Sept. 20 as follows: President, £2,500 yearly; Ministers and Speaker, £1,700; Deputy Speaker, £1,000, and the Clerk of Parliament, £1,200. Members of Parliament were granted £30 monthly and railway expenses to and from Dublin.

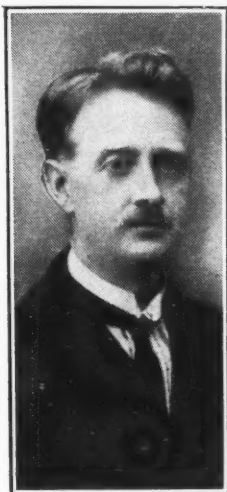
On the resumption of the debate of the second reading of the Constitution bill on Sept. 21, President Cosgrave, in alluding to the question of prisoners, said the Irish Government had the moral courage to arrest from five to six thousand prisoners, and they would arrest as many more if necessary to secure the country from danger. The second reading of the bill was adopted by



47 to 16 votes, and passed to the committee stage.

On the same date the Government published documents, which fell into the hands of the National forces recently, advocating a program on communistic lines for the Republican Party. The documents, three in number, were dated Aug. 26, Aug. 29 and Sept. 11. They contemplated State control of all industry, and of the banks, railways and canals by the Republican Government, and

the seizure of the lands of the aristocracy and their division for the benefit of the nation. In commenting on the documents the Government remarked that "if the attempt to create a military dictatorship had not failed the would-be dictators would not now propose to adopt the disguise of Communists."



WILLIAM T.  
COSGRAVE  
President of the  
Dail Eireann

Great progress was considered to have been made with the Constitution bill on Sept. 26 in the adoption of Clause 12, setting up a Legislature composed of the King and two houses by a majority of 27. Opposition, led by George Gavan Duffy, was chiefly directed against retention of the King. In favor of the clause Professor McCennis of the National University said that what was meant by the King was the Crown, and that they would not have a Legislature or a dominion unless they had the machinery contemplated by the treaty. The King was necessary for the completion of the machinery to enact statutes.

It was announced that the Government had decided to deport some six thousand prisoners to an island on the west coast, on which army engineers had already constructed a suitable camp. This action was taken as the best solution of the problem of security.

The Parliamentary debate of Sept. 27 was occupied with the Government's proposals for setting up military courts or committees to try persons charged with interfering with the restoration of order or endangering public safety. In concluding his speech President Cosgrave, in reference to peace with the irregulars, said: "They can have that at any moment by surrendering their arms to the people's Parliament. There must and will be political liberty, but there must be obedience to Parliament and no armed force outside the control of the people's Government. Parliamentary consent was given to the foregoing plan on Sept. 28.

On Sept. 29 Parliament adopted a resolution to abolish the Dail District and Parish Courts, and accepted the Government proposal to send out paid Magistrates on the heels of the civil guard to various parts of the country. Nineteen stations in Southern Ireland were then policed by unarmed civil guards.

Thereafter such rapid progress was made that Article 17, containing the oath of allegiance to King George, was adopted by Parliament by a large majority on Oct. 3. This action was regarded as insuring that the Constitution would be ready to submit to the British Parliament at the coming Autumn session. On the same date President Cosgrave issued a proclamation granting amnesty to all irregulars who surrendered before Oct. 15. The first successful material amendment to the Constitution was made in adopting Articles 26 to 42, inclusive, on Oct. 4, when the universities traded four seats in the Senate for eight in the House. In the session of Oct. 5 Article 48, which ruled on the declaration of war, was adopted.

Statistics drawn from the new budget on Oct. 9 for £37,000,000 (about \$162,800,000), admitted that this sum exceeded the estimated revenue by £10,000,000. But Government experts pointed out that £12,000,000 (\$52,800,000) of this year's budget was for extraordinary expenses, which are not likely to continue. These include £10,000,000 for compensation for property destroyed in the fighting, and £1,800,000 for pensions for Judges, members of the constabulary and other employees of the British Government who were succeeded by Irishmen. This total will sink with the deaths of the beneficiaries.

With reports of a cessation of terrorism, there also came to hand the bill of costs which Southern Ireland was called upon to meet as the result of rebel destruction. Claims for compensation already amounted to \$45,000,000, with every day bringing in its tally. The district was described generally as a land of broken communications and guerrilla hill fighting, in which the Nationalists had lost more high command officers, subordinate officers, and rank and file than throughout all the big campaigns preceding. On Sept. 14 Kenmare was recaptured from the irregulars, who, in turn, took Ballena; while in Dublin there was early morning firing more intense than any since the Four Courts affair. This latter action was continued on Sept. 15, when irregular forces attempted to seize various strategic points in the southern section of the city. The appointment of General Owen O'Duffy, former Chief of Staff to General Mulcahy, to the position of Chief Commissioner of the Irish Civil Police was announced. Also a ruling was made by the Lord Chief Justice and two associates that, as a state of war existed in Ireland, habeas corpus proceedings were suspended.

In a battle near Ballena on Sept. 19, ten irregulars and six Nationalists were killed and many wounded. The irregulars, in superior numbers and better armed, took seventeen prisoners, including one General, who secured his liberty by emptying his revolver upon his guard. On Sept. 22, in an ambush near the

O'Connell Bridge, Dublin, a bomb hurled by irregulars at a lorry of Nationalist soldiers killed one soldier and wounded several others. In the return fire of the soldiers, three civilians, including a girl, were hit by shrapnel. On Sept. 25, eight armed men entered the licensed premises of President Cosgrave in James Street, Dublin, and robbed the till. In a second raid of the place on Oct. 1, by a gang of young fellows, representing themselves as members of the Irish Republican Army, Patrick Cosgrave, uncle of the President, was shot to death.

The Army Bulletin of Oct. 5 announced the arrest in Dublin of Robert C. Barton, former Minister of Economics in the Dail Cabinet, and one of the signers of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, but later opposed to its ratification. Continued activities of the irregulars in the vicinity of Dublin and other places, together with the seizure of cold weather supplies, forecast prolongation of the conflict into the Winter months.

## ☐ CANADA

To further the effort to obtain political equality for some 1,200 Hindus resident in Canada, of whom 1,000 live in British Columbia, was the object which brought the Rt. Hon. V. Scrinivassa Sastri, Member of the Council of State of India, to the Dominion. This mission Dr. Sastri explained in Montreal on Sept. 10 as follows:

"Rightly or wrongly, many of the young men find in the failure of Canada and other countries to extend to the Hindu resident within their boundaries full citizenship an evidence that their nationality will not be accorded the full privileges of membership in the British Empire. This is not the sole cause of political agitation in India, but it has been made an important one, and frequent references have been made to the fact that in Canada the Hindu is forbidden the franchise, whether or not he is a British subject.

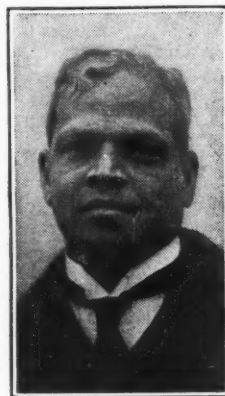
"With the extension of the franchise in India, and the further development of that country as an integral part of the British Empire, it is rather puzzling to those who are now taking their first steps in political freedom to find that in the most important Dominion the man freely recognized as a British subject is barred from the franchise. From this it is argued that the white man is not willing to give full liberty to India. That adds another difficulty in the way of those of us who believe in the British connection."

Following the decision of the Government to establish a Canadian sample exhibition at Shanghai, China, under the control of the Canadian Trade Commissioner there, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association was stated to be making plans to obtain for Canadians a larger portion of Chinese trade.

Foreign trade statistics officially announced in Ottawa on Sept. 27 gave a total decline of \$462,000,000 in Canada's import and export business for the year ended Aug. 31. The decrease in trade with the United States alone, as compared with the preceding twelve months,

amounted to \$331,000,000, of which \$143,000,000 was in exports and \$188,000,000 in imports.

A delegation of Canadian railway officials left Montreal on Sept. 18 for Washington to explain to American railway representatives the delay experienced by Canada in regaining domestically owned cars held on American railroads. It was estimated that approximately 30,000



(Wide World Photo)

Dr. V. S. SASTRI  
India's delegate at  
recent Arms Con-  
ference, now visit-  
ing Canada

box cars were held on the American side of the border. With the movement of grain at its height, accompanied by the usual seasonable movement of general merchandise, Canadian railways faced an acute car shortage due to the failure of the wandering cars to "get home."

On Sept. 25, Canadian railway shopmen, after several days' deliberation, expressed a desire to reopen direct negotiations with the companies on the wage question. This request, which was received by the Railway Association, as acting for the companies in negotiations with their employes, was forwarded to the individual railroads. The belief was expressed that an early conference would be arranged.

## ☐ AUSTRALIA

Revised figures of the Australian census last year show an increase since 1911 from 4,573,868 to 5,445,423 inhabitants, a growth of about 20 per cent. It is realized that this is far too small for the proper development of a continent with an area of 2,974,581 square miles, and efforts are being redoubled to stimulate immigration.

The threat of the Turkish Nationalists against the Dardanelles, where so many Australians and New Zealanders lost their lives during the war, aroused public interest to a high pitch, and the offer of Premier Hughes to send troops to the Near East, if necessary, was endorsed by the Cabinet on Sept. 19, and the House expressed its approval. Premier Hughes pointed out that Australia, during the great war, put a larger army in the field than the Turks could muster and was ready to do it again. New Zealand also took action in reply to Britain's appeal to the Dominions, promising to send a contingent to defend the Dardanelles. The Labor Council of Australia, however, denounced the attitude of Premier Hughes and threatened a general strike in the event of war.

The Commonwealth Government has ordered five passenger liners of 13,850 gross tons to be built on the Clyde for its service from London to Freemantle via the Suez Canal. The ships are to make the voyage in 30 days, including a stop at Colombo, Ceylon.

## NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand reports a favorable balance of trade for the half year ended June 30 of £10,703,894, compared with only £1,006,006 for 1921. This, however, was largely obtained through economizing on imports, which fell off £12,002,395, totaling only £16,188,472, a fall of about 40 per cent., whereas exports amounted to £26,892,366, a decrease of only £292,495.

## EGYPT

Two important questions are uppermost in Egyptian politics—the representation of minorities in Parliament and the future of the Sudan. The Constitution Commission, by a vote of 15 to 7, rejected the proposal to guarantee a minimum representation of minorities in the new Parliament and vigorous protests are being heard from the Copts, the largest Egyptian religious minority, the Syrians and the Jews, all of whom demand the right to be represented in Parliament.

To offset the commission's inclusion of the Sudan in the new kingdom, Lord Allenby went to Khartum and met a group of thirty sheiks of Sudanese tribes who expressed their loyalty to the British Government.

The Turkish victory over the Greeks in Asia Minor aroused Moslem sentiment in Egypt. The mosques of Cairo were illuminated at night and Islamic flags were carried in parades. Women were active in fighting for the franchise and campaigning for the new Parliament preceding the October elections.

General commercial conditions are improving. Germany's trade with Egypt has been gaining rapidly and shipments to Germany exceeded those to the United States by more than \$1,800,000 in the first half of the year. The United States is the only important country losing its Egyptian trade.

## SOUTH AFRICA

The way history is being made in South Africa, as shown by municipalities, is astounding. Johannesburg has just floated a loan for £1,000,000 to be expended on drainage, abattoirs, native housing, tramway extensions, and gas, electric and water supply. Pretoria is erecting a new electric power station. Port Elizabeth is asphaltting her streets. Bulawayo and Umtali are improving their water supply. Harbor improvements in Walvis Bay in the mandate territory are to cost £600,000 and are much needed, because ships now can approach only to within two miles of the harbor.

As an inducement for Rhodesia to join the Union of South Africa, the latter has offered a subsidy of £50,000 a year for ten years as compensation for the "Rhodes clause" adopted in 1898 which prevents the imposition of customs duties in Rhodesia on goods of British origin,

other than tobacco and liquors, higher than those then existing in Cape Colony.

A delegation representing the Universal Negro Improvement Association of New York on Sept. 13 applied to the League of Nations for a mandate over the former German Southwest Africa for the establishment of a negro nation. The move is sponsored by the Haitian delegate in the League Assembly.

## LIBERIA

The proposed loan of \$5,000,000 to Liberia, guaranteed by the Wilson Administration and later approved by President Harding, failed of passage before adjournment of the Senate on Sept. 22, although it had passed the House on May 10. The failure to pass the bill was due largely to an attack by Senator Borah on Sept. 11. He said that more than \$1,000,000 of the new loan would go to pay New York bankers for old bonds of Liberia which they had bought up at 10 cents on the dollar, mentioning specifically J. P. Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and the National City Bank. The three concerns named, the next day telegraphed Senator Borah that they had no interest in the proposed loan; that they, with other bankers, in 1912 negotiated a loan for \$1,700,000, practically all of which was placed in Europe, and that their combined present holdings of the old loan amount to less than \$5,000, for which they paid 90 per cent. of par.

## TUNISIA

France is protecting the oases in her African desert domain to preserve the world's date supply, a large part of which comes from the date-palms in the oases of Tunis. The gradual encroachment of the sand threatened to swallow them up, but the French Government, seeing the danger, is constructing earthworks surrounding the oases at a distance of about 300 yards, and surmounting them with palisades of palm branches, against which the wind heaps the invading sand, forming a dune. Tropical trees and shrubs are afterward planted in this dune, forming a permanent barrier.

Arab chiefs are now reported to be wearing wrist watches with radium dials.

## IRAK (MESOPOTAMIA)

A treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Irak was signed at Bagdad Oct. 11 by the British Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox, and the Irak Premier, Si-Saiyid Abdurrahman. Under the treaty, which consists of eighteen clauses, King Feisal agrees to be guided by the advice of King George on international and financial obligations and interests for the whole period of the treaty, twenty years, such support and assistance to the armed forces of the King of Irak as may be necessary to be provided by Great Britain.

No gazetted official of other than Irak nationality shall be appointed in Irak without the concurrence of the British King. The organic law which King Feisal agrees to frame for presenta-



tion to the Constituent Assembly of Irak shall insure to all complete freedom of conscience and free exercise of all forms of worship, religion and language.

Sir Percy Cox, on signing the treaty, said that the British Government would do its utmost to insure speedy delimitation of the frontiers and the admission of Irak to the League of Nations, as soon as a stable Government was established, this being in the opinion of the British Government the only means by which mandatory relations can be legally terminated. In official circles in London the treaty is regarded as the first important step for securing complete self-government for Irak.

## INDIA

Renewal of Akali Sikh disturbances at Guru Ka Bagh, a village about six miles north of Amritsar, caused the Government some temporary uneasiness. This movement, as already explained in these pages, originated in complicated disputes over the custody and ownership of the Sikh Shrines. The Government, in protecting the lawful native owners from the Akalis, or fanatics, found itself compelled to adopt drastic measures at Guru Ka Bagh to stem enthusiasm for a holy war, incited to actual hostilities by the mother of Moulana Mohamad Ali, the Mohammedan agitator, now in jail. In addressing an enormous crowd at Lahore on Aug. 26, she said: "The English may arrest you or shoot you, but do not be disheartened. Thirty-three crores (330,000,000) of humans need not be afraid of 400 bugs. Our brethren do not fear jails or bullets, and they are martyrs if they die by bullets, and soldiers of God if they are spared. Be men; break the bonds; and prepare for the jails and to receive bullets. I am prepared to go to jail and be shot. Be men!"

Thus exhorted to action, the Akalis advanced in good order on Guru Ka Bagh, armed with staves and accompanied by Red Cross lorries to remove the wounded. Some sort of a battle was fought on Sept. 2, during which British Government doctors ministered to the Akali injured. Subsequently the police withdrew within barbed wire fencing around the Shrine estate. As an observant Hindu journalist summed up the situation, it was difficult to see how the Akalis could make much further progress armed with sticks and stones against rifles and machine guns.

As the Near Eastern crisis developed with a strengthening of the Turkish position, Indian Mohammedans everywhere displayed zeal for their co-religionists in Asia Minor. At Bombay, on Sept. 18, the mosques were crowded throughout a day of prayer and thanksgiving, while the Moslem quarters were decorated with Turkish flags and processions held in honor of Kemal Pasha. On the same day Calcutta was placarded with notices summoning all Moslems to assemble in the mosques and pray for the success of the Turkish arms. Following a subsequent pilgrimage of thousands of Moslems to the mosques, Premier Lloyd George was denounced for his attitude toward the Turks. At a large meeting in Ahmedabad, Sept. 27, the militant spirit of Islam was disclosed in

resolutions protesting against Great Britain's sending forces to Constantinople, and threats made to aid the Turks by joining them on the battlefield, if war was declared against Turkey.

An enormous toll of life was swept away in floods of Oct. 4, said to be the worst in the history of Northern Bengal. This calamity was followed by a serious outbreak of cholera, which added to the difficulties of relief workers.

In view of late trade returns, alarm over the non-co-operators' boycott of foreign goods seems unnecessary. In July the returns showed enormous increases in the import of cotton piece goods, amounting in value to £1,093,333, £200,000, and £213,333 for gray, white and colored cloths respectively. Other piece-goods figures for July were almost equally favorable.

## FRANCE

The moratorium granted to Germany by the Reparation Commission on Aug. 31, and the subsequent arrangements completed by Belgium and Germany for the payment of the reparation instalments for the last five months of 1922, relieved political tension between France and the Berlin Gov-

Marble pillar in the Verdun sector marking the place where the rush of the invading Germans was stayed in 1918. This is only one of about 240 pillars that will extend along the whole line from the North Sea to Switzerland. The inscription reads, "Here the Invader Was Repulsed, 1918"







(Wide World Photos)

Rebuilding peasant homes in the devastated areas of France: French soldiers and engineers are working hand in hand with the American Committee for Devastated France to replace the temporary shacks of the peasantry with simple but substantial buildings

ernment, and the Stinnes-Lubersac agreement for reconstruction of the devastated areas of North France with German material—a special application of the Loucheur-Rathenau economic agreement—was generally hailed as a good omen for the bettering of relations between the two former adversaries.

It cannot be denied, however, that the financial situation of France has been impaired by the heavy cost of reconstruction, which has been charged up against Germany, but which the French continue to be unable to collect. By the Aug. 31 agreement, Belgium received guaranteed notes for all the payments remaining due for the present year, and France got nothing, owing to Belgium's prior claim. M. Charles Lasteyrie, Minister of Finance, speaking before the Paris Chamber of Commerce on Oct. 5, said in part: "The fact that Germany has not yet paid France one cent for reconstruction is the sole cause of our budget difficulties today." The French budget for 1923 balanced, he pointed out, and the 4,000,000,000 francs deficit represent interest on money borrowed to carry out a task for which Germany was supposed to pay. To carry this item, the people must pay more taxes, and Germany must be induced to repay France in the measure of her ability. Instead of being extravagant, said M. de Lasteyrie, France is making a long stride toward financial stability. The figures refuted the charge of excessive military expenditure;

In 1919 this item was 18,185,000,000 francs; in 1920 it was 27,648,000,000 francs; in 1921 it was 6,312,000,000 francs; for 1922 it is 4,910,000,000 francs. France today, he added, has 200,000 soldiers less than in 1915. The French military budget is less by 7.9 per cent. than in 1913, whereas the British military budget is 19 per cent. greater, and the Japanese 71 per cent. greater. Civil expenses in 1920 amounted to 11,377,000,000; in 1922 to 7,025,000,000. In the first six months of this year the Government discharged 28,514 State employees, and more are to be discharged in the coming year. All in all, France is spending 6,000,000,000 francs fewer and receiving 2,000,000,000 francs more in taxes, a total improvement of some 8,000,000,000 francs over the preceding year; and all the money raised has been by the sane and dignified method of internal loans.

The appointment of Louis Barthou, former Premier, and now Minister of Justice in the Poincaré Cabinet, to the position of French representative on the Reparation Commission was officially announced on Oct. 5. M. Barthou succeeded M. Dubois, and was in turn succeeded in the Cabinet by M. Coirat, a close personal friend of the Premier, whom he had served as Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs. M. Barthou, one of the most influential politicians in the present Parliament, is in complete accord with M. Poincaré's attitude toward the reparation problem. The first session of the commission

over which he presided was devoted to a discussion of the cataclysmic state of German currency, with the mark standing at 3,000 to a dollar, and bankruptcy in sight, and the best method of compelling Germany to keep her pledge, in consideration of being granted a moratorium, to put her financial house in order.

The seaman's strike which followed the Government's decree, Sept. 5, revoking the eight-hour day for seamen, held up thousands of travelers bound for North Africa and other Mediterranean ports and created an intolerable situation at Marseilles, with throngs of people waiting to embark, no ships in sight, and the plight of many daily growing worse. The strike began in protest against the Government's action, which, the authorities pointed out, was not taken until other nations had refused to be bound by the eight-hour day, voted by the French Parliament on Aug. 2, 1919, and thereby placed France in an unfavorable position in respect to her merchant fleet. Thousands of tons of perishable goods were soon rotting on the docks. The situation underwent some improvement early in October, when the Government, through strike-breakers and crews of marines, succeeded in enabling a number of boats to clear.

## BELGIUM

During the past month the Belgian Government has been chiefly preoccupied by negotiations with Germany over reparation payments. The Allied Conference at London having been unable to reach an agreement regarding Germany's demand for a moratorium, the Reparation Commission settled the matter temporarily by adopting the Belgian compromise proposition, which relieves Germany from further cash reparation payments during the remainder of the current year.\*

All these payments had been assigned to Belgium on account of her priority rights, and the amount involved is 270,000,000 gold marks (approximately \$67,500,000), being five instalments falling due monthly from Aug. 15 to Dec. 15 inclusive. The Reparation Commission, on Aug. 31, instructed Germany to meet each of these instalments when due by giving the Belgian Government German six-month treasury bonds in lieu of cash. It was further provided that the bonds should be secured in some manner satisfactory to the Belgian Government.

The Belgian delegates proceeded to Berlin to arrange the details of the transaction, but final settlement was delayed. The German Chancellor endeavored to obtain an extension of the bonds from six months to eighteen months, but was finally compelled to agree to give six-month bonds. Then arose the question of security. The Belgians insisted that they must have some security of real value, not simply scraps of paper. At one moment it seemed that the negotiations would fall through entirely. Finally, however, the Reichsbank agreed to guarantee the German

Treasury bonds, and this proposition was accepted by the Belgian Government and approved by the Reparation Commission. These guaranteed bonds will fall due as follows: 50,000,000 gold marks, Feb. 15, 1923; 50,000,000, March 15; 50,000,000, April 15; 60,000,000, May 15; 60,000,000, June 15, 1923. It is understood that each instalment of bonds will be issued in fractional denominations, so that they may be more easily discounted and distributed among private bankers.

Before consenting to guarantee the German bonds, the President of the Reichsbank went to London and had a consultation with the Bank of England. Exactly what arrangement was made between the Reichsbank and "the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street" has never been made public. It is rumored, however, that the Bank of England agreed to help the Reichsbank to re-finance the loan as the bonds mature. What Belgium is chiefly concerned with is the security and negotiability of the bonds, and the best proof of these is that private bankers are willing to discount them.

Thus the Belgian compromise has tided over the crisis which was threatened by Germany's demand for a moratorium. The relief is only temporary, however, as the Allies have made no agreement regarding cash reparation payments to be required from Germany after Jan. 1, 1923.

It is expected that a conference of the Allies will be held at Brussels in December, and it is hoped in Belgian circles that the program of the conference will be made broad enough to cover the whole interallied situation as well as any moratorium to be granted to Germany. Mr. Theunis, the Belgian Prime Minister, has expressed a desire for a frank discussion among the Allies to consider the adjustment of interallied debts, to consider what can be done to enable Germany to pay, and to find out what they can do to meet the German demand for delay without bankrupting themselves. "The situation is this," said the Prime Minister, "we need money at once and Germany seems unable to pay completely until much later. Mobilization of her debt is, therefore, a necessity, and a loan seems to me inevitable."

The London Times remarks editorially that the Belgian demand for the guarantee of the Reichsbank was "undoubtedly a bright idea," and expresses the hope that this precedent will lead to further transactions of a similar nature or to an international loan. It is probable that this question will figure importantly at the forthcoming conference at Brussels.

## HOLLAND

The Dutch Cabinet, which resigned on July 22, was reconstructed on Sept. 12 under the same Premiership, that of M. de Beerenbouck, and is composed as follows:

C. J. M. RUYS DE BEERENBOUCK—Premier and Minister of Interior.

H. A. VAN KARNEBEEK—Foreign Affairs.

TH. VAN HEEMSKERK—Justice.

TH. DE VISSER—Public Instruction.

D. L. DE GEER—Finance.

J. J. C. VAN DYK—War.

J. WESTERVELD—Navy.

\*See October CURRENT HISTORY, page 153.

M. VAN SWAAY—Waterways.

P. J. M. AALBERSE—Labor.

S. DE GRAAF—Colonies.

Holland is undergoing an agricultural crisis, and all the industries that in ordinary times form the backbone of the nation's economic activities are almost at a complete standstill. The main reason is the reduced purchasing power of other European countries, especially Germany, which formerly bought from 60 to 90 per cent. of Holland's agricultural products, principally vegetables. Now exports are at a standstill, and tons of produce lie rotting in the fields. The farmers and truck gardeners are hard hit, yet the Government is financially unable to give them a subsidy. The crisis is likely to extend and lead to a general lowering of wages, with the troubles that usually go with this, the only apparent method of readjustment.

The Dutch Government is establishing a powerful wireless sending and receiving station at Kootwyk, in the Province of Gelderland, covering an area of 750 acres. Still another station for receiving will be established thirty miles southward. Five masts, 700 feet high, have been erected at Kootwyk, weighing 100 tons each. The work is being directed and the materials supplied by the German Telefunken Company, and the station is expected to be ready for service at the end of the year, when it is said it will have the same capacity as the Long Island station and will also be one of the biggest in the world. Kootwyk Station will be equipped with a special duplex system to receive and send simultaneously to and from Java, 7,500 miles distant. Diplomatic negotiations are now being carried on to make the new station available for American traffic.

## SWITZERLAND

Late in September a popular referendum, in which 90 per cent. of the citizens voted, defeated a drastic law proposed to give the authorities almost discretionary powers to deal with revolutionaries. The vote was 373,000 against the law to 300,000 for it. The popular rejection came as a surprise to the Government, as both chambers of Parliament had voted for the measure. The law would have empowered the authorities to repress not only acts against the public security, but even general strikes of a political character. The votes of the Parliamentary chambers had shown unanimity of the bourgeois groups against the Socialists. In the referendum only the Catholic cantons of Central Switzerland accepted the law, such as Vaud, Fribourg and Valais.

At the recent quarter-century jubilee of the Swiss (Employing) Farmers' Association 500 delegates made merry over "mountains of bottles of fine wines gratefully contributed by winegrowers from all over the Confederation." The association has a membership of 360,000, and the Socialist press complains of the outrageously high prices it imposes on farm products. The association's official organ, the Farmers' Newspaper, has a 200,000 circulation, and the extra one-fifth of a cent charge added to the retail price of milk some time ago keeps the central

treasury overflowing with money. Members are furnished full information regarding their interests by the central office, which also maintains insurance societies of all kinds. President Robert Haab of the Swiss Confederation and other high Government officials attending the jubilee praised the association as a pillar of law and order.

Switzerland and France are still seeking an agreement on the improvement of the Rhine suggested in an article of the Treaty of Versailles. As Switzerland is not bound by that treaty, it continues meanwhile to adhere to the established usage, which calls for a navigable Rhine from Basle to the sea. France, however, is very desirous of using a part of the upper Rhine for water power, which will necessitate dams. The Swiss Federal Council recently made public an official report on the whole subject, in which it announced its intention to continue to exercise its police functions along the river until a new agreement was reached. Meanwhile it charges engineering and manufacturing concerns to accept France's proposed plan—made in view of the treaty authorization of dams on the frontier—for the arrangement of a concession in accordance with Swiss law, and for determining just what part of the Rhine is suitable for navigation and what part can best be used for dams and water power. Unless the proposed concession can be agreed upon and granted within eighteen months, the Kehl factories are to proceed with their enterprise under the conditions laid down last December by the Swiss Central Commission. As soon as the plans of the improvement project are arranged, parleys will be arranged with the other States interested, namely, Germany and France, relative to the sharing of the expense.

## ITALY

Like a well organized and powerful army the Fascisti are pressing on in their campaign for the regeneration of Italy on the lines they have laid down as essential. After completing the first stage of that program, viz., the crushing of subversive Socialist and "Red" propaganda, they have now begun the self-imposed task of Italianizing the newly acquired Trentino provinces. Ever since Italy obtained the Trentino from Austria successive Cabinets have striven to treat the population there with the greatest tact and delicacy, in order not to offend the susceptibilities of a predominantly German population. The Fascisti asserted that they had erred in the other direction; that no Italian flags or pictures of Italy's King were allowed to be displayed; that Austrian gendarmes were permitted to parade the streets garbed in Austrian uniforms, and that the Italian inhabitants—a minority, but a large one—had no Italian schools to which to send their children. The Fascisti leaders gave the word, and early in October their cohorts, several thousand strong, marched into Trent and Bolzano and occupied both cities militarily. In Bolzano they forced the Municipal Council to resign, seized all German schools, dissolved the local police, and imperiously demanded the resignations of Senator Salata, Director General of the liberated provinces, and of



Senator Credaro, High Commissioner of the Trentino, for what the Fascisti called their policy of "masterly inactivity." The Italian Government, on Oct. 5, entrusted the maintenance of public order in Trent to the military authorities. Some five thousand Fascisti in the building of the Provincial Council finally withdrew, but their commander declared that they would be ready to meet any eventuality. The specific charge against the royal Commissioner was that for the last two years he had failed to assert the dignity of Italy and the rights of Italian citizens.

This new military *démarche*, coupled with a general increase of Fascisti activity, shows that the utterances of the *Popolo Italia*, the newspaper of Benito Mussolini, the Fascisti leader, defining the duties of the Fascisti and setting up a new military organization "which today is the organization of the Fascisti, and tomorrow will be the organization of the new Italian State," are no vain words, and that the ultimate object of Fascismo is to take over the administration of the Government. In a speech at Milan on Oct. 5 Mussolini declared: "In Italy there exist two Governments—a fictitious one, run by Facta (the Premier), and a real one, run by the Fascisti. The first of these must give way to the second." Later he was even more specific: "In November the Chamber must be dissolved. In December general elections must take place. If the Government will not do this the Fascisti will do it."

It was learned at this time that Michele Bianchi, Secretary General of the organization, had sent a virtual ultimatum to the Government, demanding the dissolution of the Chamber and general elections, and insisting that the elections be conducted on a new plan, by which the Fascisti will have three-fifths of the total number of seats, the rest to be divided proportionately among the

remaining parties. The Fascisti were sure of obtaining a majority, and hoped by the new election scheme now virtually dictated to the Government, to obtain 321 seats in the Chamber, as against only 214 for all the other parties together. The immediate problem the leaders have to consider is whether they will follow this parliamentary method, or will resort to violence to attain their ends. The sentiment of several Fascisti leaders favored peace. The Fascisti Congress will meet at Naples at the end of October. The plan then appears to be to call to Rome from all parts of Italy a veritable army of Fascisti to force an immediate dissolution of Parliament. If the Government refuses to dissolve the Chamber, or if the Fascisti fail to obtain a majority in the elections, the method of violence may be adopted. All indications point to the determination of the Fascisti to have the Government of Italy in their hands, and their confidence is justified by the vastness of their organization, which may be said to be national in its ramifications, and by a strongly developed public sentiment in their favor.

A rather lamentable contrast with this young and imperious party, fully conscious of its waxing power, was afforded on Oct. 2, when the Italian Socialist Congress opened in Rome to decide the future policy of what was once the strongest party in Italy, and what today is a shipwrecked remnant "*nantes in gurgite vasto*." The last Socialist Congress represented many hundred of thousands of workmen, and was an event of such national importance that whole pages were devoted to it by the press. The sweeping victories of the Fascisti, bringing thousands of former Socialist workmen around its standard, has weakened the Socialists to the point where it is generally conceded that the party is dead. The main issue



(International)

Members of the Fascisti saluting their officers on their entry into Milan. They took over the control of the city in order to break the general strike then in progress and prevent the collapse of the Municipal Government as a result of communistic activities



discussed—participation or non-participation in the Government—created violent clashes, in which the Left group, headed by Serrati, and made up of Communists and extremists favoring revolution and refusing to co-operate with the Government, waged bitter war on the followers of the Right, headed by Turati, who wish to follow a policy of peaceful penetration and to share in Government responsibilities. A third group, headed by Baratonio, held the balance of power, and exerted a conciliatory influence. The radical group was in the majority, with a following of some 25,000; Turati counted 20,000 adherents, and Baratonio headed some 7,000. The extremist majority forced the issue, and at the session of Oct. 3, by a vote of 32,106 to 29,119, they read the Collaborationists out of the official party. The Moderates protested that a legal majority had not been obtained, owing to the abstention of 3,108 delegates from voting. The discussion was continued in order to force a rejection or an acceptance of the protest. If it is rejected, the Maximalists will assume the legal title of the official party; if rejected, there will be a split like that which occurred in Germany between the Majority Socialist Party and the Independent Socialists, and the party will be correspondingly weakened.

General Carlo Caneva, who fought for Italian unity in his youth, and who led the Italian forces in Tripoli during the seven years' war with Turkey, died in Rome on Sept. 25, filled with years and honors.

## GERMANY

The reprieve granted to Germany by the Reparation Commission on Aug. 31 brought hope of an improvement in financial conditions. According to the terms of the allied agreement,

Germany was to meet the payments for the remaining five months of 1922 (approximating 100,000,000 gold marks), by handing to Belgium, in satisfaction of her prior claims to these instalments, guaranteed six-month notes. Considerable difficulty was experienced by the Belgian representatives in Berlin in their efforts to obtain what they considered adequate guarantees for the payments of these I. O. U.'s, but the endorsement of the Reichsbank was ultimately accepted. The Wirth Government on Sept. 25 handed to the Reparation Commission two series of five promissory bills, the first totaling 47,400,000 gold marks, and the second 48,600,000 gold marks, in satisfaction of the payments due for August and September. The first series will fall due Feb. 15, 1923; the second, March 15 of the same year. Eight of the notes were made out for 10,000,000 gold marks each, in accordance with the desire of the Belgian Government, and all were made payable through the Bank of England to the order of the Belgian Finance Minister. The 4,000,000 gold marks making up the remainder of the indebtedness were subtracted for German coal and dye deliveries.

The hope, however, that the catastrophic fall of the mark would cease after this reprieve was not fulfilled, and it was soon made evident that the mark's fall was due to other causes than reparations. From 2,000 marks to the dollar, the mark fell to 3,000 early in October, and Chancellor Ebert returned in haste to the capital from a vacation to discuss the menace of this situation with his Cabinet. Mark speculation increased, showing an ever-growing movement by the German people to exchange their marks for dollar values, in order to protect themselves against further depreciation. Evidence was published showing that American, British and even



(Wide World Photos)

President Ebert (in front) and Chancellor Wirth inspecting the Guard of Honor, drawn up outside the Reichstag Building in Berlin, on the third anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the German Republic, Aug. 11, 1922

French speculators had lost gigantic sums by this cumulative depreciation, and French writers were not slow to charge that British policy in respect to Germany had been influenced by such losses. The paper inflation increased by leaps and bounds, but according to Franz Urbig, Director of the Disconto Gesellschaft, was not keeping abreast of the need of currency. Whereas 70,000,000,000 mark notes circulating in January, 1920, had the same power as 5,400,000,000 gold marks before the war, the 337,000,000,000 circulating at the end of August, 1922, had the purchasing power of only 1,870,000,000 gold marks. The Reichsbank announced on Sept. 24 that it would be ready to print 7,000,000,000 paper marks daily after Oct. 15. Meanwhile it raised its discount rate from 7 to 8 per cent.—a strong indication of the increasing strain on credit.

The Reparation Commission held a special meeting in Paris on Oct. 11 to discuss the mark cataclysm in the light of the allied demand—in consideration of the granting of a moratorium—that Germany reduce her floating debt and put her finances in order. That debt, however, had increased by more than 100,000,000,000 marks, and the paper circulation was increasing at the rate of almost 8,000,000,000 marks a day. This was the first meeting held under the new President of the commission, M. Barthou, who succeeded M. Dubois.

The Wiesbaden and Stinnes projects for payments in kind and in French reconstruction were proceeding slowly, though hampered by the difficulty of finding authorized purchasing agents. The maximum rate of commission allowed to these agents is 6 per cent. of the price actually paid to the German firm supplying the goods. Out of this percentage the agent must pay all his own traveling and other expense incurred in inspection and verification. Payment of customs duties and transportation, however, are to fall on the individual French purchaser.

One of the most momentous of recent political events in Germany was the reunion of the two Socialist parties—the Majority Socialists and the Independent Socialists—split since 1917 over the question of war loans. The decision for reunion was taken by the Social Democratic Congress at Augsburg on Sept. 21, and by the Independent Socialist Congress, which opened at Gera on the same day. The new United Social Democratic Party will be the most powerful political group in Germany, and will have a majority of seats (169 to 469) in the Reichstag. Its program as announced includes the following objects: (1) Protection of the republic, (2) struggle against class privilege, (3) reform of financial and economic policies, (4) improvement of popular hygiene and education, (5) the influencing of international policy. Under this last head, the program admitted Germany's moral duty to rebuild and reconstruct the devastated regions of Northern France and Belgium, but declared that the ever-increasing economic disaster and the appalling collapse of the mark made reparation relief imperative. Six years of embittered political warfare came to an end on Sept. 24 when both groups in common session at Nuremberg unanimously ratified the fusion resolution adopted



AS GERMANS SEE POINCARE  
What he thinks is terror, what he sees is red,  
What he speaks is rage, what he writes is blood.



by the two congresses. Former Chancellor Muller, Herr Crispian and Herr Weis were elected Chairmen of the reunited party, and Carl Kautsky was made Chairman of the committee to draft the new party program. A prominent feature of this program will be the waging of a "finish" fight against Communism; the Communist press commented accordingly. Pressure on the Government to take strong measures to reduce the

high cost of living was also decided. The union was joyously hailed by most of the democratic press as a good augury for Germany's future.

The Rathenau murder trial began at Leipsic on Oct. 3 before Germany's "Political Supreme Court," newly established under the law passed by the Reichstag for the safety of the republic after the assassination of the former Foreign Minister. The murderers, as previously recorded, committed suicide just as they were about to be arrested. Thirteen minor accomplices were put on trial. The young men of high school and college age were ranged on the right, the older ones on the left of the court. The court consisted of three professional Judges, drafted from the membership of the Supreme Court in Leipsic, and four laymen appointed by President Ebert. One of these was a Socialist, and another a member of the Chancellor's own Centrum Party. The three professional Judges, though graduates of the old régime of Kaiserism, unhesitatingly voted that the court was competent, as the law for safeguarding the republic was legally passed by the necessary two-thirds majority of the Reichstag. Some of the sensational interest of the famous Social Revolutionary trial in Moscow was here reproduced. Attorney General Ebermayer, in summing up the case on Oct. 11, asked the court to inflict the death penalty on Ernst Werner Techow, who acted as chauffeur for the murderers, but asked for comparatively mild sentences, ranging from six months' to six years' imprisonment, for the remaining accomplices. The Liberal press commented caustically on the failure of the prosecutors to follow up all evidence of anti-governmental conspiracies.

The royalist elements in Munich inaugurated a Royalist Party toward the end of September as an active and openly avowed factor of the political life of Bavaria. The Wirth Government was declared amid loud applause to be "the worst Government Germany has ever had." The Bavarian Government headed by Graf Lerchenfeld was also denounced. Various speakers declared that though Bavaria wished to remain within the German confederation, the Bavarian royal house of Wittelsbach must be restored to power. The motto adopted for the new party was, "With God for King and Fatherland."

The publication of the ex-Kaiser's memoirs created a considerable sensation in France and England, where it was declared that formal and official answers must be made to Wilhelm's specific accusations. The publication in Germany placed the conservative and royalist press in a dilemma, and most of them pointedly refrained from comment. An even greater sensation, however, was aroused by the announcement (Sept. 18) of the former monarch's engagement to Princess von Schoenaich-Carolath, a young widow of noble, but not of royal, birth. The marriage is to occur at Doorn, the ex-Kaiser's residence, in November, and has the consent of all his immediate family. The reactionary press was considerably embarrassed to find favorable comment, and the consensus of opinion was that this step would lose Wilhelm all further support from the Legitimists, and would make his return to the throne forever impossible. Undeterred by

all criticism, the former Kaiser went forward with his preparations for the event.

## HUNGARY

Great joy was expressed over the news of Hungary's admission to the League of Nations at the Assembly session of Sept. 18. Count Banffy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had given ample assurance that Hungary would fulfill all her obligations, and the vote at Geneva was unanimous. In the lobby of Parliament at Budapest the Deputies of all parties felicitated each other on the event. The Government organs estimate that a very important result has been obtained, because Hungary can now make her voice heard on questions of importance without having recourse to an intermediary power.

In the latter part of September the Hungarian Government sent to the allied powers' representatives at Budapest a note of protest against maintaining—at Hungary's expense—the Inter-allied Commission of Military Control, even though reduced to a simple bureau. This note underscored the fact that Hungary has executed all the military clauses of the peace treaty, and that consequently there remains no reason to keep the commission functioning. The note further aimed to show that Hungary had executed the clauses as to number and form of effectives in her army, and that, far from having an excess of war material, she has not even enough. Therefore the Hungarian Government prays the Conference of Ambassadors to abolish the Commission of Military Control and liberate Hungary from a heavy burden.

On Sept. 15 financial circles were dismayed at a new 20 per cent. drop in the Hungarian krone. Recent allegations that the Hungarian Government was involved in a plot against Rumania were blamed for the drop. The fall of the krone caused a crisis in the printing of banknotes. These notes are made by a Swiss firm, and the smaller denominations now cost more to print than their whole face value! The Reparation Commission desired to remedy this situation, but as the Swiss firm held a copyright on the banknotes it was necessary to engrave new and expensive designs before anything could be done.

Minister of the Interior Rakovsky, the first week in October, ordered a new registration of all foreigners residing in Hungary, with a view to weeding out undesirables. He alleged economic and political reasons for his action, saying that Hungary, following the example of American immigration restriction, must protect her scanty supplies and reserve the country's business opportunities for her own citizens. The German industrial magnate, Hugo Stinnes, has bought up the shares of the Liptak Iron Works in Hungary, with the alleged intention of flooding the Balkans and South Prussia with its products.

On Oct. 3 the Royalists, headed by Count Apponyi and Count Zichy, formally announced Prince Otto, eldest son of the late King Charles, as King of Hungary in succession to his father. The two Counts appeared before the Premier, Count Stefan Bethlen, declared that they represented the Hungarian Royalists, and stated that, as the constitutional time-limit for crowning the



heir-apparent had expired, the Royalists regarded the coronation of Prince Otto as having taken place and considered that he was only prevented from exercising his prerogative. Therefore the Royalists requested announcement of this declaration to the National Assembly and to Admiral Horthy. Premier Bethlen, however, refused to acknowledge receipt of their declaration, on the ground that the National Assembly had passed laws annulling the claims of the House of Hapsburg to the Hungarian throne.

## ☐ CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dr. Eduard Benès, one of the foremost diplomats of Europe, and organizer of the Little Entente—consisting of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania—retired from the Premiership of the Prague Cabinet on Oct. 3, but retains the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Anthony Svehla, an agrarian leader and organizer of agricultural unions in the sugar beet industry, becomes Premier. His appointment is due to the rise of the agrarian influence, which is Nationalist as opposed to industrial, which leans toward Germany. The new Ministry, which is regarded as the strongest since the creation of the republic, is thus constituted:

ANTHONY SVEHLA (Agrarian), Premier.

EDUARD BENES (Social Democrat), Foreign Affairs.

ALOIS RASIN (National Democrat), Finance.

M. STIBRINY (National Socialist), Railways.

M. BECHINE (Social Democrat), Social Welfare.

M. SRAMCK (People's Party), Posts and Telegraphs.

On Sept. 7 it was announced from Prague that a committee of Czech noblemen had been formed to contest the expropriation of their estates, on the ground that the compensation allowed is a farce, as the price is to be paid in Czech crowns at the pre-war value of the Austrian crowns, and gives the owners less than a tenth of what the land is worth. The dispatch said that they had chosen Samuel Untermyer of New York as their chief legal adviser to contest the case before The Hague tribunal.

Czechoslovakia has filed a claim in Tokio against the Japanese Government for 860,000 yen for arms belonging to the Czech troops which evacuated Siberia two years ago. The arms are said to have been sold through General Dieterichs at Vladivostok to Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian Governor, recently defeated by the Chinese General Wang. The Japanese Government, on Oct. 3, promised to investigate their disappearance.

## ☐ AUSTRIA

When the last stage in the collapse and ruin of Austria seemed imminent and the London Conference had referred the question of help to the League, the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Seipel, made a pilgrimage to Prague, Berlin and Rome. The material results of his journey seemed to be nil and the statements both of the Chancellor and of the statesmen who received him were so guarded that they revealed nothing; but the press comments and discussions which have followed

in France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Austria showed the existence in those countries of policies and opinions which are certainly not widely understood, but which must, in any case, have a profound effect upon the future international relations in Europe.

The journey itself was pretty generally agreed to be something of a demonstration. The League Council was just about to meet, and Dr. Seipel seemed to wish to say to the world: "Austria is at the end of her tether. If the League this time does not really help us, then we must try another way. We must join Italy (which the Little Entente and France will not like), or we must join the Little Entente (which Italy will not like), or we must join Germany (which nobody will like)."

One's impression of the danger of policies thus implied is only deepened by a more detailed survey of the press comments on the journey. Le Temps, in an account of the negotiations at the London Conference with regard to Austria, said that some weeks before the conference the Austrian question was put on the agenda at the instance of the British Government, but that at the last meeting the British Prime Minister, having already announced that Britain would give no financial aid to Austria, simply brushed the whole question aside, casually remarking that, if there were any disturbance in Austria, Italy, as the power directly interested, would consider intervention. The Italian Minister seemed to acquiesce by his silence; M. Poincaré took note of the statement and proposed the reference to the League. Even moderate and sober papers in France saw in this action on the part of the British Government a manoeuvre to "inconvenience, annoy, or intimidate France."

L'Europe Nouvelle suggests that the British Government, by its brutal refusal of any aid to Austria, was deliberately driving that country to take an extreme course, inevitably harmful to France. If Austria joined Germany, French policy would receive a check, French prestige a blow, and French interests would be menaced. If she came to an agreement with the Little Entente, Italy would object and become embroiled with France, the supporter of the Little Entente, while Italy would be "more securely chained to England." Finally, if the solution were some kind of protectorate of Italy over Austria, the Little Entente would object and France would be blamed by both Italy and the Little Entente, thus becoming "more isolated than ever."

The press in Italy, Austria, Germany and the countries of the Little Entente makes it clear that, whatever may be the views of the several Governments, these implied policies are accepted by a considerable number of people in the various countries as realities and as affording a reasonable basis for statesmanship.

M. Benès has never concealed his conviction that the Government, no less than the ruling classes, of Hungary would take the first opportunity offered to them of restoring a Hapsburg king. But in addition to this monarchical trend, feelings of exacerbated nationalism are also almost universal in Hungary owing to the large number of Hungarians who were cut off



and included in other States by the peace settlement. Consequently a Hapsburg restoration would probably also imply an attempt to recover the former Hungarian frontiers, and the step from that to a re-establishment of the former empire is not very great. One can easily see the bonds which bind Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia in a common policy and entente to resist any such attempt to upset the status quo.

One factor has, however, complicated the policy of the Little Entente, and its effects can be seen in negotiations regarding the collapse of Austria; namely, the conflict between Italy and Jugoslavia over the eastern littoral of the Adriatic and Fiume. This conflict still has a deep and wide influence on the grouping of States in the Balkans, and it is natural that the hostility between Southern Slavs and Italians has, in the minds of many people, been extended to a hostility between the Little Entente and Italy.

Thus one result of the peace settlement in Southeastern Europe has been the growth of the idea of two hostile groupings of nations there, one the Little Entente, mainly Slavic and under the patronage of France, the other non-Slavic under the protection or patronage of Italy. The Pan-Slav hotheads of the Balkans talk of a Slav bloc which will bar Italy's progress eastward, while Italian Nationalists discuss the possibility of a "wedge" composed of Austria and Hungary to be driven under Italian guidance through the Slavs of the Little Entente. It is such policies or fantasies which make the problem of the future of Austria so dangerous.

Dr. Seipel journeyed not only to Rome and Prague, but also to Berlin. He thereby indicated that there was a third alternative, an alternative which always lies in the background of Austrian politics, union with Germany. This solution has, of course, been vetoed by the Allies in the peace treaties and it has been made clear that France is determined to maintain the veto. During the recent discussions and negotiations there were indications that Italy in this case would strongly support the French view. Finally the Little Entente would appear to be equally opposed to any attempt at a union between Austrian and German Germans. In this policy it is considerably influenced by the attitude of Czechoslovakia toward Germany and Germans. The large German minority included in Czechoslovakia has already created a difficult problem for the new State, with the usual symptom of irredentism which Europe came to know, to her cost, before the war, but which does not yet appear to have taught her wisdom. It is natural under the circumstances that Czech statesmen should view with alarm any proposal for the lifting of the veto and the union of Austria and Germany, for it might have a repercussion upon their internal difficulties.

The League of Nations, on Sept. 27, established a plan which, it is felt, will save Austria and prevent any of the complications indicated in the foregoing. The Austrian Gov-

ernment has obtained a loan, guaranteed by France, England, Italy and Czechoslovakia, of 650,000,000 gold crowns (\$135,000,000). A finance court commissioner, probably an Englishman, will be stationed at Vienna to oversee the expenditures under the loan. The Finance Control Commission will probably have its seat in Geneva under the auspices of the League. Austria's sovereignty is guaranteed as well as the integrity of her present frontiers. Austrian financial and economic experts consider that the two years' limit imposed will be sufficient to arrest the fiduciary inflation which is the chief cause of the whole evil, and that at the end of that period the crown will have reached a point at which foreign trade will again become an economic possibility.

Meanwhile, Austria's currency has depreciated to a point where one American dollar is worth 74,600 Austrian crowns, and the overtime printing of the banknote presses is still turning out tons of beautifully engraved paper slips that represent little more than good intentions. Yet Austrian prices—in gold—approximate the world market level. The Austrian, however, does not have to worry about rent. A law passed while the krone was still of value forbade the raising of rents; so the person who paid 100 kronen a month for his rooms a year ago still pays the same sum, although 100 kronen today are worth only one mill in American money. The landlords have struck for a 10 per cent. rise.

Several months must elapse before the League's rehabilitation scheme can receive complete Parliamentary ratification, as only the French and Czechoslovakian Governments have assented to the guarantee scheme; but the decline of the krone has been checked and the future at least contains a promise of better things for the Austrian people.

## ☐ RUMANIA

On account of Rumania's proposal to issue a new loan for \$175,000,000 to refund her external obligations held largely by private individuals in Great Britain and France, with smaller amounts in Rumania itself and in the United States, the Washington Administration on Oct. 3 made representations to Rumania that her debt to the United States now amounts to \$41,412,453, on which no interest has been paid for several years. State Department officials contend that it is unjust to provide for all other indebtedness and yet to do nothing about the sums due the United States Government.

Rumania is about to redraft her Constitution to co-ordinate the diverse legal modes and systems in old Rumania and the new provinces of Transylvania, Bukowina and Bessarabia. A strong effort is being made for the State to acquire subsoil rights, which, as in Mexico, would include all oil and mineral rights. The matter has been delayed owing to the difficulty of dealing with existing contracts. Rumanian, American, British, Dutch, French and Belgian companies are complaining of the delay, which is bringing development to a standstill.

The English iron and steel concern, Vickers &

Co., has bought in the open market a one-fifth interest in the Reshitza iron and steel plant, the most important of its kind in Eastern Europe.

## BULGARIA

A plot to overthrow the Government at Sofia and violate the neutrality of Bulgaria was discovered in documents found in the papers of a representative of General Wrangel's army and made public on Sept. 14, the discovery having frustrated the plot.

Political feeling runs high against the members of the Radoslavoff Cabinet, who were put on trial in October, 1921, on the charge of being responsible for Bulgaria's entry into the war. Premier Stambolisky, who heads the present Agrarian Cabinet, has popular support, but the bourgeois opposition has considerable strength in Sofia. Pitched battles occurred between the factions on Sept. 16 and 17, in which fifteen persons were killed and more than two hundred wounded. The Agrarians seized three bourgeois leaders, cut off their beards and mustaches and were about to hang them, when M. Daskaloff, Minister of the Interior, saved them by promising legislation to accelerate the trial of those responsible for the war.

This was done on Sept. 23, providing for a referendum by the whole voting population of Bulgaria, under which, should 70 per cent. of the voters declare the members of the War Cabinet guilty of action injurious to the people, they will be condemned to life imprisonment. If 60 per cent. are for conviction they will be sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, and if only 50 per cent. are against them they will be exiled for ten years.

Speaking for the Premier on Oct. 5, M. Daskaloff said that Bulgaria would remain neutral in the Near East controversy under all circumstances, and the Parliament voted its approval.

## GREECE

With the entrance of the Turkish Army into Smyrna, on Sept. 9, the subsequent burning of that city and the massacre of many of its Christian inhabitants on Sept. 13, the Greek occupation of Asia Minor came to an end, and the eyes of the whole nation were turned to Thrace, which now becomes the new danger point of Greece. The Greek Government strengthened the Thracian front with all the troops that had succeeded in withdrawing from Asia Minor. King Constantine issued a proclamation advising the people to be calm in the face of the national misfortune and to rally around their leaders in a spirit of patriotic devotion.

While the King's proclamation was read throughout the kingdom, the last of the Greek troops were being transferred from Asia Minor to the islands of Mytilene and Chios, preliminary to their transfer to Thrace, whither the armies of the northern group at Brusa had already withdrawn in good order. On Sept. 15 it became apparent that more than two-thirds of the Asia Minor army had been saved, with most of its material. During the transfer of these troops there had been symptoms of mutiny, first in the islands of Chios and Mytilene and then in

Adrianople and Saloniki. The defeated soldiers, on learning the extent of the disaster, soon became unmanageable. Some men from the classes about to be demobilized refused to surrender their arms to the various depots.



(Underwood & Underwood)

King Ferdinand of Rumania (left) conversing with Marshal Pilsudski, head of the Polish State, at Sinala, Rumania, where the latter was staying for a brief visit

It was stated on Sept. 19 that the Government of Mr. Triantafyllakos had asked the assistance of Mr. Venizelos, but this was flatly denied, and the Ministers responsible for the suggestion were forced to resign. On Sept. 20 it was announced that Greece had an army of 100,000 men in Thrace. At the same time Athens learned of the allied note to Kemal, offering him Thrace, with the restitution of Adrianople and Constantinople to the Turks.

While this news was being discussed in Athens, a military revolution broke out in Mytilene, under the leadership of Colonel Gonatas, commanding the Second (Athens) Division. The troops that were to embark for Thrace requested to be transferred to Athens, and under the escort of the navy several Greek transports reached the harbor of Laurium on Sept. 26. There a revolutionary committee was formed under the joint leadership of Colonels Gonatas and Plastiras, with Captain Phokas representing the mutinous navy. When this committee reached Athens the Triantafyllakos Ministry had resigned, and, through General Papoulas, the ex-Generalissimo of Asia Minor, the revolutionaries made their demands known to King Constantine. Colonel Frangos, one of the

heroes of the last retreat, who single-handed saved a whole division from being surrounded, offered his services to the King; the latter, however, in order to spare the country the horrors of civil war, refused to avail himself of them. Constantine then abdicated (Sept. 27) in favor of his son, Crown Prince George, who took the oath



(© Underwood & Underwood)

#### KING GEORGE II.

Eldest son of King Constantine, who has succeeded his father as ruler of Greece

before the Triantafyllakos Ministry and the Revolutionary Committee, while Papoulas assisted.\*

The Revolutionary Committee formed the following Ministry:

MR. KROKIDAS—Premier and Minister of the Interior.

MR. CANELLOPOULOS—National Economy.

GENERAL HARALAMBIS—War.

ADMIRAL PAPACHRISTOU—Marine.

PROFESSOR VASSILIOU—Justice.

DR. DOXIADES—Public Assistance.

MR. SIOTIS—Education.

MR. DIOMEDES—Finance.

MR. CALLIGAS—Communications.

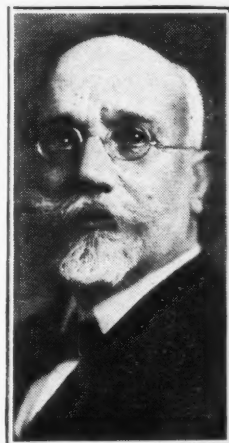
MR. EMBIRICOS—Food Ministry.

MR. POLITIS—Foreign Affairs.

\*See article on Constantine, page 312.

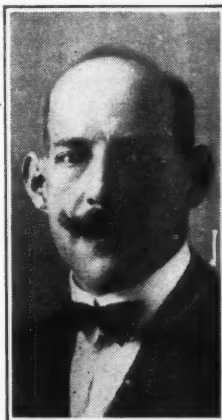
Following the formation of the Ministry, the former Premiers, Gounaris, Stratos, Protopapadakis, and the Ministers, Goudas and Theotokis, were placed under arrest to be tried for high treason before the National Assembly, which is to be elected soon. General Dousmanis, the Chief of Staff under the Constantine régime, was also placed under arrest. King George II. received the members of the Revolutionary Committee on Sept. 30 and gave them formal assurances as to his loyalty and as to the finality of his father's abdication.

The first meeting between the allied Generals and the representatives of Kemal took place on Oct. 3 in the town of Mudania, on the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmora. On the same day the British representative at Athens paid the first formal visit to the palace, thus giving the first sign of recognition to the new King. On Oct. 4 Mr. Venizelos, having accepted the mandate of the Revolutionary Committee to act in London and Paris for Greece, answered with an ultimatum, requesting that the Greek Government accept the request of the Allies and proceed to evacuate Thrace, which was to pass first under allied and then under Turkish occupation. On Oct. 8 the new Generalissimo of the Greek armies in Thrace, General Nider, announced that the troops would not evacuate the province, no matter what happened. The same statement was made by General Leonardopoulos, the liberator of Adrianople. Colonel Plastiras took the same view. By Oct. 15, however, the evacuation of Thrace was under way. On Oct. 9 the representatives of France and the United States in Athens had signed the King's visitors' book, as a token of informal recognition.



#### ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS

Former Greek Premier, who has again come into prominence



EX-KING  
CONSTANTINE  
Who abdicated the  
throne of Greece  
on Sept. 27, 1922



## ☐ NORWAY

The Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague on Oct. 13 handed down its award on the long pending case between the United States and Norway in regard to damages due to Norway for ships commandeered at the time of America's entry into the war. The verdict was in favor of Norway. Claims presented by Norway amounted to \$13,000,000 plus interest since August, 1917, and the tribunal awarded approximately \$12,000,000. The United States Government had recognized its liability for only about \$2,500,000. When the award was read, the American agent, William C. Dennis, rose amid considerable stir and gave formal notice that the United States reserved the right to move for a new trial on the ground of "essential error." Details of this important international case must be reserved for the next issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

Queen Wilhelmina's visit of state to all three Scandinavian kingdoms was felt to be of great importance in those countries as well as in her own Holland. Her official visits in September, in company with Prince Consort Hendrik and Foreign Minister Van Karnebeek of Holland, began at Copenhagen, progressed to Stockholm and ended with Christiania. The attendance of Jonkheer Van Karnebeek, who had always supported the policy of isolation pursued by The Netherlands since the war, was taken by the press as signifying a rapprochement to safeguard the economic, commercial and other interests that the four countries have in common, possibly to revive the ex-neutral bloc to strengthen the League of Nations, and to form a common policy in the face of the constant changes in the political situation due to the Treaty of Versailles. All the Scandinavian kingdoms vied with one another in giving Queen Wilhelmina an enthusiastic welcome, though the Norwegian reception seemed to make the strongest impression on her and on the Dutch press.

A colorful feature of the Dutch Queen's entertainment in Denmark was a folk-festival given in her honor by the people of the Danish Island of Amager. These islanders are descendants of Hollanders, who, in the reign of Christian the Tyrant (1513-1523), were called in to teach the Danes gardening. A brilliantly costumed procession followed the automobile of King Christian and Queen Wilhelmina down a beflagged avenue. The city's emblem, a four-masted, full-rigged ship, was carried by singing young men in white sailor suits with bright red sashes. Another troop carried rose-wreathed lances. Among the athletic folk-games was a water tournament between skiffs in the harbor, the lancers and oarsmen of one skiff trying to run down or capsize the other skiff, or to spill its crew overboard. When one man remained standing alone in a skiff, after all the involuntary somersaults into the water, the King crowned him as conqueror with a silver wreath.

Arriving in Stockholm Sept. 9, Queen Wilhelmina and her retinue were met at the Central Station by the Swedish King and Queen with great cordiality. Premier Hjalmar Branting

came home for the occasion from Geneva, where he was acting as one of the six Vice Presidents of the League of Nations Assembly. The Swedish newspapers regarded the visit as not without political significance and, recalling the formerly intimate cultural relations between the two countries, expressed the hope that this event would strengthen all their mutual relations. In this they were echoing the sentiments that had been avowed in King Gustaf's speech of welcome.

Leaving by special train for Norway, Queen Wilhelmina arrived in Christiania Sept. 15. After King Haakon and most of the Norwegian royal family had given greetings of welcome, the procession passed up Karl Johan Street, headed by a Cadet Squadron, in which rode Crown Prince Olav as one of his school unit. At the gala banquet in the Palace in the evening, King Haakon gave the address of welcome in French, and Queen Wilhelmina responded in the same language, expressing love for Norway because of the kindness of its royalties and people, as well as the beauty of its landscapes. Before her departure for Holland, Wilhelmina gave a reception on the Dutch cruiser Zeeland to members of the local Dutch colony.

It was announced on Sept. 20 that the International Committee for Russian Relief had decided to continue work under the direction of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, renaming the organization, in French, "Action Nansen."\*\*\* Early in October, Mme. Alexandra Kolontai, Russia's leading feminist, was appointed assistant to the chief of the Soviet political mission to Norway. She played an important part early in the Bolshevik revolution and combats the Oriental viewpoint with regard to women which persists in the Bolshevik leaders.\*\*\* Census figures show that in December, 1920, Norwegian-Americans to the number of 49,760 had returned to live in Norway.

## ☐ DENMARK

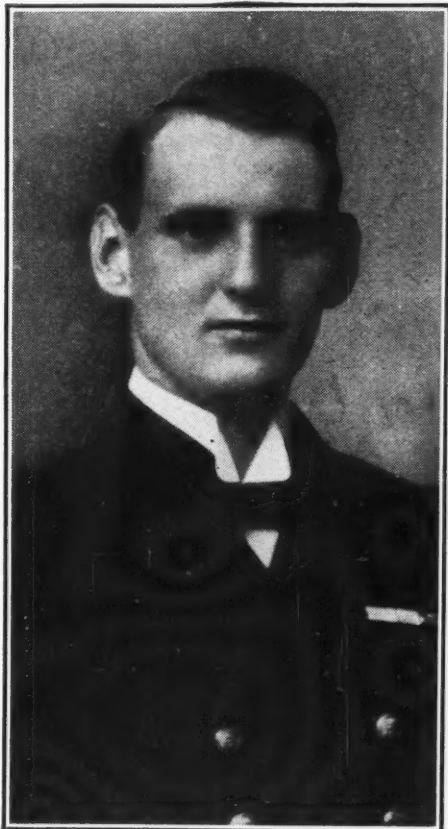
The interest of the Danish month centres in the crisis and plans for the reorganization of the Danske Landmandsbank (Danish Farmers' Bank), which is the largest private bank in Scandinavia and the centre of Jewish finance in Denmark. It was established in 1871, with a capital of 100,000,000 kroner and a reserve fund of 50,000,000 kroner. This bank now has sixty branches throughout the Provinces, all the leading Danish cities, except Odense and Aarhus, being represented. About 20,000,000 kroner of the capital was recently reported to be held by American investors. The bank's present crisis is due to the great fall in prices of the various products and enterprises in which it was interested. Plans for its reorganization were hindered for a time by the strictures of the Socialists and other radicals, who insisted that the Government take the bank over altogether as a State institution, but this movement was defeated, Premier Neergaard declaring that politics must be kept out of the negotiations. In the third week of September, negotiations between the Government and the



Danish National Bank, the Eastern Asiatic Company, the Great Northern Telegraph Company, and other interests resulted in an agreement. On Sept. 21, the Rigsdag passed the bill for the Landmandsbank with minor amendments. The preferred shares were reduced

cations for assistance under this grant and suggest methods of allotment of the funds, whether as export credit or for partly bearing losses incurred in exportation of Danish industrial products.

Late in September it was announced that Crown Prince Frederick of Denmark and Princess Olga, niece of ex-King Constantine of Greece, had annulled their engagement by mutual agreement. News of King Constantine's abdication caused no surprise in Copenhagen.



(Times Wide World Photos)

#### CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK

Heir apparent to the throne of Denmark

from 100,000,000 kroner to 70,000,000 and the National Bank's 30,000,000 was made a reserve fund. Through the appointment of members both to the Board of Directors and to the Council, the State will wield considerable influence on the management of the bank.

This bank has been looked upon as a reconstructive force in Northern Europe generally, both during and since the war. Its catastrophe is attributed to the financing of unsound enterprises, including speculations in the German mark. The Rigsdag's sanction to the new plan of reorganization is fully expected.

By Sept. 24 the Minister of Commerce appointed a committee to act in connection with the grant of 5,000,000 kroner authorized by the Government for use in promoting export of Danish goods. This committee will examine appli-

## SWEDEN

The visit of a British squadron to Stockholm, headed by the light cruiser *Delhi*, beginning Sept. 14, was the occasion of festivities. King Gustaf entertained Prince George at luncheon in the Royal Castle, and afterward paid a visit to the *Delhi*.

A Stockholm capitalist, M. Aschberg, has obtained a concession for a private bank in Moscow with a capital of 10,000,000 gold rubles and with the privileges of a State bank. The aim of the bank is to utilize enormous funds said to be lying dormant in private hands in Russia. Among the directors are M. Galasjkin of the Junkerbank, M. Ternovski, head of the Siberian Bank, and Mr. Way of the American Guaranty Trust Company.

Crown Prince Oskar, who has passed the Summer at his Sofiero country seat on the Sound, has gone to Greece to push the excavations which he and a number of Swedish archeologists started a year ago in Greece and Italy. Interesting discoveries in the buried city of Asine (the ancient Korone) of relics of Mycenaean culture and of the classic period of Hellenic art have resulted.

The Vienna correspondent of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* reported on Oct. 8 that Sweden has done important service in fighting tuberculosis in Austria. All classes of people contributed funds to the Swedish society, Radda Barnena (Save the Children), which has established one of the largest sanatoriums in Europe; the institution can accommodate 450 children, with all modern treatments, besides school facilities.

## FINLAND

Finland's temporary Cabinet, on the meeting of the newly elected Riksdag (Eduskunta) early in the month, resigned, considering that its authority had lapsed; but President Staalberg has requested it to remain in office until the formation of the new Ministry.

The Central Detective Police gave out late in September discoveries of the activities of a band of 4,000 Finnish Reds in Sweden whose plot is to destroy railroad and steamer communication between the two countries, preparatory to starting a Red revolution in Finland. Chief Ossi Holmsstrom of the Central Detective Police, stated that these Reds held a secret midsummer council at Seskaro, Sweden, where it was planned to transport "short arms" to Finland to support the projected revolution. The printing and circulating of propaganda literature was also discussed there, this being translated into Finnish in Lulea

and smuggled into Finland by automobile. He names as leaders those of the revolt frustrated by the Scandinavian police in 1918: Kullervo Manner, Yrjo Sirola and Matti Turkia.

## POLAND

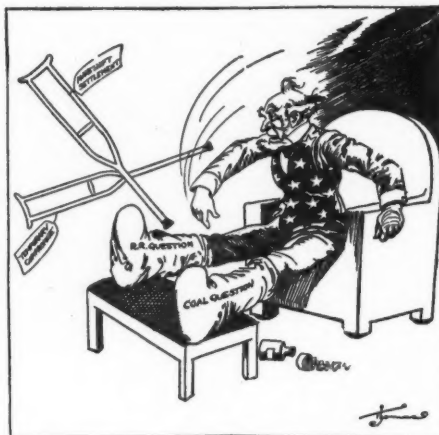
One of the members of the new Novak Ministry—namely, Minister of Finance Jastrzebski—bears a heavier burden of responsibility than any other one Minister, for on him devolves the colossal task of placing Poland's demoralized finances upon a permanent basis. Michalski, the former Finance Minister, struggled heroically to cope with the catastrophic depreciation of the Polish mark, but the political tide was against him. M. Jastrzebski, who succeeded him, in an address to the Polish Parliament late in September, declared his intention to carry through a thorough-going reform of Polish finances, including a complete monetary reform to be completed in three to five years and the increase and simplification of taxes.

Under the first project falls the establishment of the *zloty*, a new national currency, to be guaranteed by 100,000,000 gold francs deposited in the National Treasury, and by 150,000,000 francs destined for industrial aid. The first use of the new unit would be in connection with the floating of a new internal loan. Land taxes would be increased twenty times. Government is economizing as far as possible, and the scheme of introducing complete prohibition in the six weeks' pre-election period was abandoned because it meant the loss of 250,000,000 marks daily. The Government has decided to lease out 500,000 acres of oil fields covering an area of nearly 800 square miles. Not only the oil resources, but Poland's national resources in general, as well as the industrial situation were very favorably reported on by the French economic mission which left Poland toward the middle of September. Polish shipping has so increased that the facilities of the harbor of Danzig have proved inadequate; the Polish Parliament (Sept. 25) authorized the building of the first all-Polish seaport at Gdynia (Gdingen), at a cost of only 50,000,000 gold marks.

Politically the situation is also favorable. Before the old Parliament dissolved, it passed a Home Rule bill for Eastern Galicia, embracing the *voyevodships* of Lwow, Tarnapol and Stanislawow, and granting local Parliamentary rule, with pro-rata representation in the central Government. American reports of serious uprisings in this newly acquired territory were officially denied by the Polish Government on Oct. 10. The East Galicians will participate in the coming elections on an equal basis with the rest of Poland.

Similar alarmist reports, emanating from Berlin, of disturbances in Polish Upper Silesia, were also officially denied. Elections were held on Sept. 24 in this province, with the result that the Poles received thirty-four seats, of which eighteen went to the Nationalist bloc, headed by Adalbert Korfanty, and the Germans won fourteen, the overwhelmingly Polish character of the

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

"I DON'T WANT CRUTCHES—I WANT A PERMANENT CURE!"

[Polish Cartoon]



—Mucha, Warsaw

THE GREAT PERSONAGE

DOLLAR (to the other currencies): "Out of the way, good-for-nothings!"

population thus being concisely brought out. The newly elected Parliament was opened on Oct. 10 by Premier Novak, who declared that the central Government had made full provision for the economic needs of Polish Silesia. Deputy Wolny was elected Marshal of the Parliament at the second session, and Vice Presidents were also named.

The Warsaw Parliament on Sept. 22 ratified the Baltic agreement signed in Warsaw on March 17 by representatives of Poland, Esthonia, Finland and Latvia. Only Finland of these four found itself unable to ratify, but sent to the Polish Government emphatic assurances of goodwill and friendship. Foreign Minister Narutowicz publicly stated that the relations with Fin-

land, as with Latvia and Esthonia, were those of mutual helpfulness and co-operation. The Foreign Minister early in October attended a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the other Baltic States at Reval (Esthonia), to co-ordinate mutual activities. The Ministers at Reval accepted the invitation received from Soviet Russia, inviting discussions for a general disarmament of the Baltic region. Military representatives of Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States met at Warsaw for a preliminary discussion to pave the way for concerted action. Poland was also keeping in close touch with the Governments of the Little Entente.

The Polish elections will occur early in November. The candidacy of M. Paderewski for President was announced by the National Democrats in September.

## RUSSIA

Nikolai Lenin, thin and high-strung, but full of energy and resolution, has returned to active life. In presiding over a council of the people's commissars early in October, he showed that his recent illness had in no wise impaired his mental powers. He found facing him three great problems: how to encourage foreign investments, how to improve the economic situation, and how to protect Russia's interests in the Near East.

One of the Soviet leader's first official acts was to veto ratification of the agreement negotiated by Leonid Krassin with the British Urquhart interests (the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated, Ltd.) for the return of their mining properties in Siberia. Though this seemed inconsistent with the desire to encourage foreign investments, the underlying motive was plainly stated to be as follows: The economic advantage was debatable, and politically it was futile because of Great Britain's pronounced attitude of hostility in the Near East. The agreement, signed Sept. 10, had provided for complete restitution of the English corporation's varied properties, in addition to effective compensation for confiscations made by the Soviet, the total claims amounting to \$280,000,000. The land to be returned covered 2,500,000 acres, and a new ninety-nine-year lease was to be granted by Moscow. Both the British and the Germans had been looking forward to the ratification of this agreement with keen interest, and its repudiation by Lenin caused consternation, and, on the British side, resentment. The official Russian statement of Oct. 6, signed by Lenin, declared that "recent actions of the British Government are not regarded as indicative of a sufficiently friendly attitude to admit the signature of a contract of such magnitude." Maxim Litvinov amplified this in Berlin on Oct. 10, saying that the veto was caused by the pronounced hostility Great Britain has recently shown toward Russia in Near East problems. Mr. Urquhart, on the same day, asserted that the agreement had not been rejected on its merits, and that not a penny of British capital would be forthcoming so long as this compact remained unratified. The corporation's \$280,000,000 claim against the Bolshevik Government, he added, would be pressed until satisfaction was received.

The part played by Russia in the international drama staged in Asia Minor was emphasized by the Russian statements explaining the cause of the Urquhart fiasco. To understand Russia's anxiety to be admitted to the Near East conference one must remember that nation's long fight for an outlet to the sea, as well as the more recent Bolshevik treaty with the Angora Government. The Moscow leaders, on Sept. 15, sent a strong note to the British High Commissioner at Constantinople, protesting against allied control of the Turkish capital, and, above all, of the Straits, "irrespective of and to the injury of the rights of Turkey, Russia, the Ukraine and Georgia, which are vitally interested in free communication between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean." The note demanded that Constantinople be restored to the Turks, "whose victorious struggle for freedom Russia warmly salutes and supports." Thus the Bolshevik leaders voiced the traditional policy of the old Russia which they had destroyed and expressed a truly national aspiration; emphasized the rights given them under the 1921 treaty with Turkey, and openly proclaimed their sympathy with the Turkish cause, as opposed to British policy in the Near East. The success of Mustapha Kemal's arms in Asia Minor was attributed, apart from French and Italian aid, to Soviet money and to a certain extent the sending of Soviet munitions, though, despite all rumors to the contrary, Russia declined to participate in any war against the British.

On Sept. 26 Moscow sent another note, addressed to England, France, Italy, Greece, Rumania, ugoslavia, Bulgaria and Egypt, proposing a general conference to settle the Near East situation, especially the disposition of the Turkish Straits, declaring that Russia would refuse to recognize any decision in which the Russians were not allowed a voice, and denouncing Great Britain's "usurpation" in the Straits. Another note was dispatched on Oct. 1 to Great Britain, France and Italy, protesting against an alleged blockade of the Black Sea, and underlining Russia's right to be represented at the Mudania conference. Though all these notes failed of the desired effect and the Russians were conspicuous by their absence at Mudania, the Russian case was strongly backed by Mustapha Kemal in his reply, Oct. 5, to the allied note of Sept. 20; in this note the Turkish leader insisted on Russia's right to be represented at the coming peace conference. The motive for this strong Turkish support of Russia's claims will be found in the provisions of the Russo-Turkish treaty.\* Allied opinion tended to the belief that, in view of this Turkish insistence, Russia would ultimately win her fight for representation in any negotiations affecting the disposition of the Straits.

Regarding the inner economic condition of Russia, Lenin declared, in a letter read at the opening of the Congress of Trade Unions, on Sept. 19, that the refusal of the capitalist States to give Russia credit was hampering the restoration of industry, but that the insistence of the foreign powers on the restoration of private ownership in Russia would prove futile. He stressed the im-

\*See text of this treaty, page 276.



portance of developing big industrial enterprises. The policy of the Russian Government under the reforms of the last year is to leave the industries more and more to their own resources, and to expect that they must justify their right to independent existence, or disappear. Government budget economy is to be sought, according to other official statements, but the railways and merchant fleet are to be aided by subsidies.

Private trade in Moscow is flourishing, but the fall of the ruble is steadily continuing, and the wage situation is becoming worse, increasing the discontent of the working class. Gambling and lottery schemes have become rife in Moscow, with all the chances in favor of the Government; the roulette wheel in the new Moscow gambling Casino, which operates one hour every night, has two zeros instead of the usual one, as at Monte Carlo, and the profits of the Government, with maximum bets ranging from 3,000,000 to 30,000,000 rubles, average a gain of \$10,000 a night.

Though a large grain surplus was expected from the coming harvest, according to the *Ekonimicheskaya Zhizn* (Economic Life), the famine situation, according to all authorities, alike Russian, American and European, is disquieting in the extreme. Colonel William N. Haskell, Director of Russian Relief in Moscow, declares that 1,000,000 people will face starvation this Winter, and that the Moscow Government is unable to handle the situation. The American Relief Administration ceased all adult feeding after the harvest, but it is still supporting 800,000 children in Russia and 300,000 more in the Ukraine. It is estimated that in January 600,000 adults on the Volga and 400,000 in South Ukraine will be in pressing need of food. The International Committee for Russian Relief has decided to continue work under the direction of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen.

The situation, as at present revealed, fully confirms Dr. Nansen's repeated assertion that the extent of the famine catastrophe in Russia was far greater than other relief organizations realized.

The inner struggle against counter-revolution is being relentlessly pursued. A large party of expelled Russian intellectuals arrived in Riga on Sept. 26. Other parties were being shipped out of the country. Noted professors, authors and scientists are among those expelled. Their passports read: "Expelled from Soviet Russia." Persons not in sympathy with the Soviet régime, but of minor importance, are being banished to remote parts of Russia. Trials and executions for alleged counter-revolutionary activities are occurring at various points. It was reported from Berlin that Timovaev, a Socialist-Revolutionary leader, recently convicted of counter-revolution at the Moscow trial,\* committed suicide in prison because of physical and mental torture inflicted by the prison guards. It was asserted that none of the twelve convicted leaders had been informed of the suspension of the execution decree, and that they were living in daily terror of being taken out and shot. A relentless campaign is also being carried on against Jewish Zionists and against all "strange cults," including theosophy and other mystical religions, and all books and literature on such cults are being actively suppressed.

The schism fomented by the State expropriation of church treasure and by the legal pursuit of Archbishop Tikhon and other high orthodox priests accused of resistance to the decree has now degenerated into a factional quarrel between Bishop Antonin, metropolitan of Moscow and

\*See article on page 306.



(International)

Red Army officers, headed by General Alexandrov (third from left), passing to the reviewing stand to inspect the great parade of the Russian military forces in Moscow





(International)

head of the "New Church" movement, and other reformists, the point in dispute being the question of the marriage of Bishops. Bishop Antonin, it was stated at the end of September, had broken away from the Living Church (so named in distinction to the old Orthodox Church, headed by Tikhon, now called the "Dead Church"), and had formed a new organization termed the "Resurrection Church." That the old church is not "dead" to the Russian common people was proved by an episode that occurred at this time. Archbishop Tikhon, who has been released from confinement, on issuing from a small church in the Kremlin was surrounded by thousands who begged him to lay his hands upon them and cure them of disease. A gigantic religious procession through the streets was the chief public event of the month of September. On these demonstrations it appears that the Government looks with contempt, and many evidences point to its satisfaction over the triple split in the ecclesiastical régime which it seeks to overthrow.

## TURKESTAN

A Bokhara message via Peshawar of Aug. 22 confirmed the collapse of Enver Pasha's attempt to found an independent State in Turkestan. By the middle of July the former Turkish mili-

Huge statue of Freedom, in Petrograd, designed by the Siberian sculptor Chukov, who is said to have used his own features as model for the statue, which is thirty-seven times the size of a man. The statue is symbolic of the overthrow of the Romanoff dynasty and the rising of the people

tary leader, with a small and moderately disciplined force, had retreated into the hills of Darwaz, in Bokhara, at the extreme north of Afghanistan. The rest of the insurgent forces were scattered under their tribal leaders. Raiding and spasmodic attacks on towns in Ferghana caused the Russians some trouble in the latter half of July, but the insurgent movement had lost all its cohesion. The Republican Government in Bokhara was reconstituted under strict Soviet control.

On the other hand, according to a Moscow dispatch via Berlin of Sept. 17, information was received in the Russian capital that the suspected rapprochement between Mustapha Kemal Pasha and Enver Pasha had been consolidated into a definite alliance. It was stated that in reports received from Bokhara both parties had undertaken to support each other in their respective spheres of interest. Thus, to Enver Pasha went Central Asia and Persia, while Asia Minor and Mesopotamia were retained by Mustapha Kemal Pasha, as distinct fields of operation. This news was regarded as particularly unwelcome to the Bolsheviks, as the spirit of Mohammedan unrest was still growing in Central Asia in spite of energetic repression. The Turkish victories were also causing a strong revival of the Separatist movement in Turkestan, and Yeni-Turan, or Pan-Turanianism, was again considered to be a political factor by the Soviet.

## JAPAN

The conference between Soviet Russia and the Far Eastern Republic on the one side, and Japan on the other, which opened at Changchun (on the South Manchurian Railway, half way between Mukden and Harbin), on Sept. 4, was broken up on Sept. 25, following several deadlocks. The reef on which this new conference was wrecked was Japan's firm refusal to evacuate the northern half of Saghalien. The Japanese declared that M. Joffe, acting for the Soviet Government, constantly strove to secure Japanese recognition of the Soviet Government, and overshadowed completely the Chita representatives, with whom alone the Japanese delegates wished to deal. Japan, acting in accordance with her allied obligations, declined to yield in any point involving such recognition, and protested against the Soviet dominance in the discussions. All attempts to come to an agreement with Chita over the problems created by the Japanese evacuation of Siberia failed, it was declared, because of the Soviet attitude, and Joffe's insistence that Japan withdraw completely from Saghalien brought an irreconcilable conflict, which finally ended in a rupture.

The Japanese Government announced subsequently that this would not affect its plans to complete the evacuation of Siberia, exclusive of North Saghalien, by the end of October. North Saghalien, it was stated, would be held until Japan got satisfaction for the massacre of 1920. Russia, asserted M. Joffe, would never pay an indemnity for this massacre, which was committed by partisans and precipitated by the actions of the Japanese themselves, and would never

sanction Japan's remaining in possession of this rich mining and fishing area. Considerable satisfaction was expressed in Moscow on Oct. 4 by a statement of the Japanese Foreign Minister that Japanese retention of North Saghalien was "only a qualitative guarantee for the settlement for the Nikolaevsk affair." Russia, said Acting Foreign Minister Karakhan, would gladly grant Japan concessions there, but would not agree to further occupation. It was believed that the negotiations would soon be resumed, with Russia in a much more favorable strategic position.

Fighting between Soviet forces and troops of the White Government of Vladivostok began Sept. 23 at Spassk, 100 miles north of Vladivostok, by a Soviet air attack upon the town. On Oct. 8 a bloody battle was being waged in this area, and on Oct. 11 it was stated from Tokio that General Diedrichs, head of the Vladivostok Government, had surrendered to the Reds, leaving the Soviet supreme in Siberia. Japan denied that it had delivered allied arms and munitions in its possession to the White forces, whose defeat at the hands of the Soviet and Far Eastern forces was foreseen as soon as the Japanese evacuation of Siberia began. Those arms, it was stated, would be delivered to the representatives of any stable Russian Government that might arise.

## CHINA

China continues to be beset by civil war. After the war between Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian dictator, in the north, came the war between Sun Yat-sen and his former General, Chan Chiung-ming, in the south, resulting in the overthrow of Sun's Canton Government and this leader's flight to Shanghai. A new Cabinet, headed by Dr. Wang Chung-hui, with Dr. Wellington Koo as Foreign Minister, came into power on Sept. 20, and Dr. Wang expressed his hope that fighting was over at least until next Spring, so that the gigantic problem of reconstruction would stand some chance of being coped with.

On Oct. 8, however, came news that General Hsu Shuh-chen, commonly known as "Little Hsu" (in contrast with the former President), an avowed militarist and one of the leaders of the notorious pro-Japanese Anfu Club, had established an independent military government at Yenping, in the Province of Fukien, and had issued a proclamation declaring that he would fight for the "unification" of the country. President Li at once dispatched national troops and ships against him, and on Oct. 12 a nationalist victory was reported at Shiukow, 40 miles northwest of Yenping, with the result that the insurgent advance on Foochow, the capital, was beaten back. Both General Wu Pei-fu and General Chan Chiung-ming were also sending divisions against this new disturber. Another campaign was initiated by General Hsu Tsung-chi, a former commander under Sun Yat-sen, against the military governor of Fukien.

China is looking forward to Dec. 2, the date fixed for the formal restoration of the Shantung leasehold of Kiao-chau by the Japanese. The

plans for the abolition of the international control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and its return to Chinese administration, have been virtually completed by the American and Japanese negotiators. These are the only bright spots in the chaotic situation created by the financial breakdown and the activities of rival militarists.

## CHILE

For more than a month the Chilean Senate has been discussing the terms of the protocol signed at Washington by the delegates of the Chilean and Peruvian Governments last August. A report circulated in the United States has it that the joint Committee of Foreign Relations of the Chilean Congress (both branches having a voice in the conduct of international affairs in Chile) had recommended that new negotiations should be sought with Peru in order to "clarify" certain provisions. Subsequently this rumor was denied in official sources. The attacks on the part of Chilean Senators of the Unionist liberal group still continue, nevertheless. Señor Rivera, the representative for Valparaiso, expresses the fear that a plebiscite in the Provinces of Tacna and Arica, carried out in accordance with the procedure used by the Entente allies under the Treaty of Versailles, would result in the loss of the Provinces of Chile. Carlos Aldunate and Luis Izquierdo, the Chilean delegates to the conference, have returned to Santiago after a brief visit to Europe, at the request of President Alessandri. It was pointed out that if the Congress failed to ratify the protocol before Oct. 20, the situation would automatically revert to the status quo ante.

The "pool" formed by the nitrate producers, with the co-operation of the Government, has been dissolved by mutual agreement and with warm approval in all quarters. At the same time the situation of the foreign nitrate market is improving and tends to reach a period of unusual prosperity. The producers are talking with more and more insistence of co-operation, lower prices and increasing propaganda for their product.

## ARGENTINA

Coincident with the celebration of the Racial Day established by the Spanish-speaking countries on the anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, Oct. 12, the new President of Argentina, Señor Marcelo T. de Alvear, was inaugurated, taking the place of President Irigoyen. Señor Alvear was until recently Minister in Paris, and, besides holding other official positions, he has been known as a brilliant writer and journalist. On this occasion, President Harding sent him a congratulatory message. Brazilian, Japanese, Uruguayan and Mexican marines from warships at anchor in Buenos Aires took part in the parade of the garrison following the ceremony in Congress. The press, which was bitterly opposed to his predecessor, hails President Alvear as the foremost statesman of Argentina.

Subsequent to the agreement reached by the Governments of Argentina and Chile for a joint

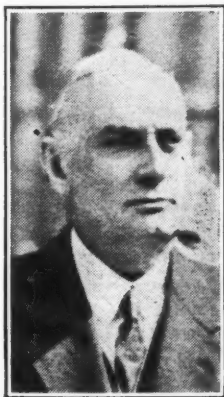
management of the Transandean Railroad, similar resolutions have been adopted in both countries for the electrification of the line. The sum of 2,500,000 gold pesos is to be put aside by law for the latter purpose. The part of the line to be electrified on the Argentinian side runs from Zanjón Amarillo, at the foot of the Cordilleras, up to the summit tunnel, a distance of some forty-five kilometers (twenty-five miles). It is expected that the use of electric power will tend to decrease many of the difficulties with which transportation has to contend in the rough stretch of land crossed by the international railway. A national highway plan is being fostered by the Argentine Touring Club, and has been put before Congress, where its adoption is generally expected.

The return trip of President-elect Alvear, who reached Buenos Aires early last month, was marked by extraordinary demonstrations of sympathy and friendship on the part of the officials and people of Rio Janeiro and Montevideo.

The Chamber of Commerce has reached the conclusion that there is neither reason nor convenience in maintaining the practice of fixing the type of foreign exchange in national gold, a procedure having no other justification than that of routine. According to its plans, the fixation of the type of exchange will from now on be made in current paper money. Before taking a definite step, however, the Chamber expects to reach an accord with the national banking institutions.

Despite the fact that the Argentinian paper peso has continued to depreciate, the general situation of the country is improving steadily. There is a slow turnover of merchandise, with some difficulties in collecting from merchants in the interior, but the favorable weather following a period of excessive rainfall promises a good season for the new crops. Prices of cereals and other products have gone up.

Congress is studying a project for the pensioning and retirement of journalists, paying them out of the national treasury. The bill has been prepared with the co-operation of the Press Association.



DR. MARCELO  
DE ALVEAR  
President of the  
Argentine Republic

(Central News)

## PARAGUAY

El Diario de La Paz publishes a dispatch from Asuncion stating that internal strife has broken out among the caudillos of the revolutionary movement in Paraguay. Colonel Chirife, the head of the revolt against President Ayala, has been virtually deposed of all command, as a punishment for the military disaster of Itape and the forced evacuation of Villarica. The dissolution of the revolutionary army is shortly expected.

## BOLIVIA

The Government has called for bids for the construction work on the Cochabamba-Santa Cruz railroad. Papers and estimates must be filed before June, 1923. The successful bidder must deposit 1,000,000 pesos as a guarantee of his carrying out the work to its completion. The State will guarantee 8 per cent. on the capital invested for a period of twenty-five years.

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey has acquired the concession of a million hectares of prospective oil land given by the Bolivian Government to the firm of Richmond Levering of Bolivia.

## PERU

The National Congress has ratified the Washington protocol, by which an arbitral solution is given to the difficulties arising between Peru and Chile from the unfulfilled clauses of the Ancon treaty relative to the definitive possession of Tacna and Arica. The vote stood 94 in favor and 8 against. The Minister of Foreign Relations, Mr. Salomon, issued a statement declaring that Peru has resolved to cut loose from the League of Nations, and that the only possibility of her ever returning to it would be in case the United States should join the League.

After a laborious negotiation with the Minister of Colombia in Lima, the Secretary of State of Peru announces that an accord has been reached for the fixation of the boundary line between Peru and Colombia. Victor Maurtua has been appointed Minister to Quito, where it is expected he will promote a similar understanding.

## URUGUAY

Strong dissatisfaction with France is spreading over Uruguay and Argentina, especially among stock raisers, who feel that the rigid restriction imposed by that country on the importation of foreign cattle is unfair discrimination and affords ground for retaliation. Already the cattle breeders of both countries have stopped buying Normandy blooded stock, shifting their orders to Belgium and Germany. Another reason for this change of patronage may be found in the fact that Germany has imported recently from the River Plata countries more than 200,000 tons of refrigerated and corned beef. Dr. Bauza, a member of the Committee for the Defense of National Production, advises the calling of a conference of Brazilian, Argentinian and Uruguayan representatives of the meat industry in order to devise the means



for a successful campaign in favor of their common interests.

Mr. Hoffman Phillips, the new Minister of the United States to Uruguay, has presented his credentials to President Baltazar Brum, with whom he exchanged cordial expressions of international friendship.

## ☐ BRAZIL

Joyous echoes and a decidedly clearer political impression were left in Brazil by the visit of Secretary Hughes during the inaugural festivities of the country's centennial anniversary of independent life. American marines, with their boyish pranks and ready purse, provided an unending source of popular contentment, and were followed wherever they went by a good-natured, grinning crowd. On the other hand, both the winning personality of Secretary Hughes himself and the character of his utterances made a deeply favorable impression on Brazilian centers of public opinion, as when he stated that the United States as a nation has no imperialistic designs toward Latin America. A happy inspiration was the personal call of Secretary Hughes at the sickbed of Ruy Barbosa, the grand old man of the country and a warm friend of the United States and its institutions. On the eve of Secretary Hughes' departure on board the battleship Maryland, a commission representing both the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives called at the Guanabara Palace, this being a spontaneous action of Congress not extended to any other of the foreign missions present at the festivities.

The last national census puts Brazil in the third place among the countries of Latin ascendancy, after France and Italy, and ahead of Spain. The total population has reached the 30,000,000 mark, with many tribes of Amazonian wild

Indians not definitely scrutinized. So vast is the territory of the country, however, that, in spite of the great increase of population, its average density is only 3.6 inhabitants per square kilometer.

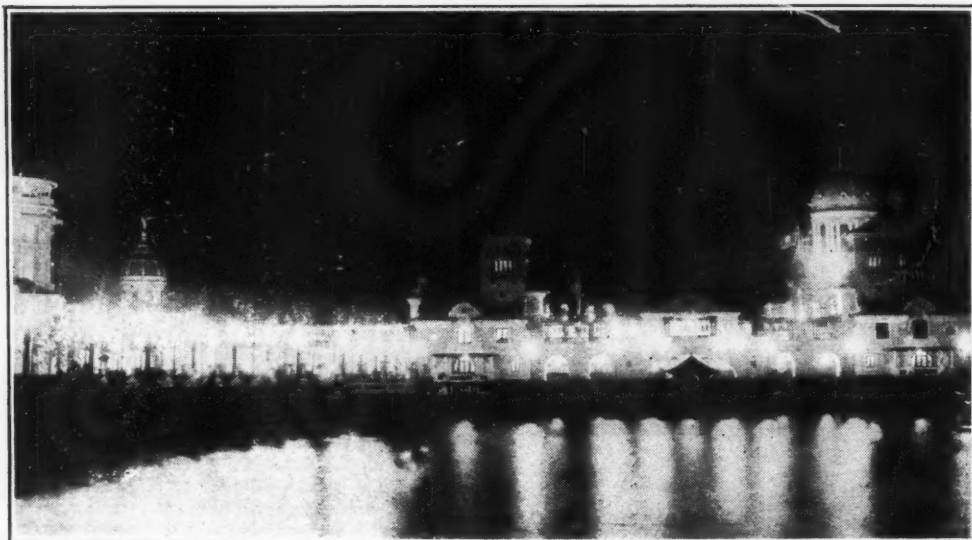
A message already approved by the committee of the Chamber of Representatives endorses the establishment of the Order do Cruzeiro, intended as a decoration to be bestowed in acknowledgment of public services and of civic virtues. The historic branch of the republicans in Congress is opposed to the creation of the order, but a considerable majority favors it.

The Governments of Brazil and Argentina have created, by common accord, a commission composed of specialists of each nationality, which shall meet in Buenos Aires to draft a complete plan for furthering commercial interchange and closer economic co-operation.

## ☐ VENEZUELA

The new diplomatic representative of Venezuela in Washington, Señor Pedro Arcaya, has been received by President Harding at the White House. The Venezuelan press bitterly condemns his predecessor, Dr. José Santos Dominici, who resigned his post when it became known that General Gomez had been again "elected" to the Presidency. El Nuevo Diario, the Government organ, accuses Dominici of maintaining constant communications with revolutionary exiles in the United States, and of having failed to defend Venezuela's neutrality during the war against Germany. It is charged that Dr. Dominici wrote, while in his official position, that the neutrality of General Gomez's Government was "absurd and impossible."

A commission of experts sent by the Swiss arbitrator in the boundary dispute with Colombia



(P. & A. Photos)

Brilliant night illumination of the buildings at the Brazilian Centennial Exposition, now being held at Rio de Janeiro



has reached the zone of contention with the purpose of fixing on the ground the actual findings of the neutral decision. One Colombian and one Venezuelan commissioner will co-operate with the experts.

## ☐ MEXICO

As a result of propaganda circulated by agents of General Francisco Murguía, part of the Juárez garrison revolted early on the morning of Sept. 30, taking the loyal Federals by surprise. Ten men were killed and twenty wounded in the first clash, and the rebels, running short of ammunition, retired. Captain Valverde of the Forty-third Battalion was the leader of the revolt and released all prisoners in the city jail, including several murderers. Three private soldiers, taken prisoner, were summarily shot by order of General Mendez, the Federal Commander, and three officers connected with the uprising were condemned to death by a military court in the afternoon. The affair caused some excitement in El Paso, on the Texas side of the Río Grande. More than a hundred Mexicans, who wanted to join the revolt, rushed to the international bridge, but the American troops stationed there refused to let them pass. General Eduardo Hernández, second in command to General Murguía, and two followers were killed on Oct. 8 in a battle with home guards.

There are three principal factions among the Mexican revolutionists, all agreeing in working for the overthrow of President Obregón, but having no constructive program. The followers of Félix Díaz and Carlos Green are operating in Tabasco and Vera Cruz; those of General Murguía along the Río Grande, and disgruntled members of the original Obregón party who have deserted him. None of these are very strong, and they generally abandon the towns they capture after a brief period of looting, but this very weakness makes it difficult for the Government to carry on an aggressive campaign to a finish.

Sept. 15, the 112th anniversary of Mexico's independence from Spain, was celebrated with enthusiasm at home and abroad. A dinner and a dance were given by Mexicans in New York, and a flag made by Señora Obregón was officially presented to the City of Philadelphia at Independence Hall.

The Chamber of Deputies, on Sept. 15, unanimously passed the bill approving the agreement reached in New York by Secretary de la Huerta and the International Committee of Bankers regarding payment of the Mexican debt. It was passed by the Senate on Sept. 27, also unanimously, and was promulgated on Sept. 30, after signature by President Obregón. Much pride was expressed by the Mexican newspapers over the fact that the first interest payment on the bonded indebtedness had already been deposited in New York. A group of wealthy men in Northern Mexico proposed a nation-wide popular subscription for funds to be applied on the interest payments next year, but Secretary de la Huerta informed them that, although he appreciated their sentiments, ample provision had been made for payment of the interest.

The President, a few days earlier, signed a decree declaring that Article 27 of the Constitution was not retroactive. Oil men in New York declared this was not sufficient. They were reported as having determined on a policy of declining to make heavy outlays of capital in the development of Mexican oil property until the Mexican Congress has taken definite action on Article 27.

The Legislature of Vera Cruz, on Sept. 13, passed a law levying a 2 per cent. tax on all oil production in the State and a tax of one-half of 1 per cent. on the value of refining plants. The matter was called to the attention of the Department of Commerce, and Secretary Robles on Oct. 2 decided that the taxes on the production of petroleum and refining plants were illegal, causing notices to be sent forbidding the State authorities to collect them. "The taxation of oil belongs exclusively to the Federal Government," the decision declared, "and the State of Vera Cruz has no right to promulgate the law or to take steps to levy the tax." The importance of this decision is evident from the fact that Mexican oil production in 1921 reached a total of 193,397,587 barrels, of which the Vera Cruz share was 151,539,737 barrels. Fear had been expressed that other States would follow the example of Vera Cruz.

It was thought that the decisions on the debt, on Article 27 and on the oil tax would have some effect in inducing the Washington Administration to change its attitude regarding recognition of Mexico, but, if anything, that attitude has been stiffened. Instructions were sent to the commandant of the American forces in the Canal Zone not to salute Mexican ships of war passing through the Panama Canal and to commanding officers of the American forces not to pay official visits of courtesy to such ships.

Japan's first minister to Mexico, named when Obregón was recognized by the Tokio Government eighteen months ago, is Shigetsuna Furuya, who preceded M. Suburi as Counsellor of the Washington Embassy. He was expected to leave for his post early in October. The Norwegian Minister gave a reception to President Obregón and his Cabinet on Sept. 30.

On account of the dismissal of an employee by *El Universal* on Sept. 8 armed labor raiders invaded the plant of the newspaper and forced it to suspend publication. The *Compañía Periodística Nacional*, of which Félix Palavicini is President, ordered a shutdown of *El Universal* and all the company's periodicals. Operation was resumed on Sept. 13 under a guarantee provided by Governor Gasca of the Federal district on direct orders from President Obregón.

Mexican Knights of Columbus are planning the establishment of a Central Catholic University of Mexico, similar to that at Washington, with a chain of schools like those operated in the United States. \* \* \* Secretary de la Huerta has contributed \$250 to a fund started by Thomas W. Lamont and other Harvard graduates to establish a Mexican Harvard scholarship. More than a thousand young American women school teachers took Summer courses in Spanish at the

National University in Mexico City this year, attracting great attention in the capital.

## ☐ GUATEMALA

The Council of War in Guatemala, on Sept. 14, sentenced to death two more rebels, Federico Arias and Trinidad Reyes, for complicity in the recent revolt. Two Catholic priests, similarly accused, were expelled.

Felipe Solares, Guatemalan Minister of Finance, arrived in Washington on Sept. 11 to negotiate a loan of \$8,000,000 which the Guatemalan Government is seeking for the purpose of stabilizing exchange.

The Guatemalan Government, on Oct. 5, formally announced its decision not to adhere to the treaty signed by Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras aboard the United States cruiser Tacoma in August for the purpose of restoring order in Central America, as Guatemala did not wish "to lend herself to entangling alliances."

## ☐ HONDURAS

A severe drought during the Summer practically destroyed the corn crop of Honduras. All import duties on corn, beans and rice have been suspended by the Government until Nov. 24, and orders were placed in the United States for immediate shipments.

## ☐ PANAMA

President Porras was the object of an immense popular demonstration on Oct. 1, the second anniversary of his election and of the reunion of the liberal elements. There being no Vice President in Panama, the National Assembly under the Constitution every two years elects three "designates," the first of whom would succeed the President if he should die. This election was held on Sept. 14, and the men chosen, in order of preference, were Rodolfo Chiari, Ignacio Quinzada and Micanor Obarrio. The election was interpreted as a victory for the Government Party.

Panama is a fortunate country without any debt, but the Government seems anxious to contract one of \$10,000,000. The project was opposed in the National Assembly on Sept. 12, and a substitute bill was introduced by Deputy Dutary for the sale of \$6,000,000 worth of real estate in New York City, in which Panama invested part of the funds derived from the Canal Zone bargain with the United States. This, the Deputy held, was preferable to contracting a loan. Under the bill half of the proceeds would be devoted to road building and the remainder be invested or lent for the development of Panama industries and agriculture.

The Panama Government is considering exploitation of large deposits of semi-bituminous coal near the boundary between the Provinces of Panama and Colon, five or six miles from Gatun Lake. The outcrop is eight or ten miles long and from twelve to thirty feet deep. The product could be advantageously sold to the Panama Canal Administration.

## ☐ CUBA

Following reports that the United States was considering intervention in Cuba, sudden activity developed at Havana. Scores of disorderly and vicious persons of both sexes were deported, chiefly to Europe, and sentences of six months in jail were meted out to gamblers arrested in Marianao, a suburb where gambling had thriven. The alarm was caused by a warning issued by the State Department at Washington calling attention to obstructionists in the Cuban Congress against the reforms proposed by General Crowder.\*

President Zayas, after conferring with General Crowder, on Sept. 14 returned to Congress the recently enacted Civil Service law and that reorganizing the Federal accounting system, with his veto. The bill suspending portions of the Civil Service law and amended to embody President Zayas's suggestions was passed by the House on Sept. 25. The bill authorizing a foreign loan of \$50,000,000, another of the five measures suggested by General Crowder, passed the House on Sept. 28.

Owing to political disorders at Guanajay, on Oct. 8, in which two persons were killed and eight wounded, and to reports that Congressional leaders were planning to pass an amnesty law, General Crowder postponed his intended departure from Cuba. He said an amnesty law would completely nullify the reforms provided for in bills passed by the Cuban Congress.

Norberto Alfonso, former director of the National Lottery, and Alfredo Zayas y Arrieta, a son of President Zayas and former assistant director of the lottery, were arrested on Sept. 26, on a charge of falsification of public accounts in connection with the lottery. Young Zayas was released the next day in \$5,000 bail. Eight other indictments in the same connection were returned.

Conditions in Cuba show a slow but steady improvement over conditions a year ago. The dominating factor has been the immense sugar and tobacco crops. United States exports to Cuba fell from \$515,208,731 in 1920 to \$187,726,179 last year, while the value of sugar imported dropped from about \$669,000,000 to \$194,000,000. Sugar at one time was quoted as low as 2.39 cents a pound. Now that the price is raising, better economic conditions are returning.

## ☐ SANTO DOMINGO

Announcement was made in Washington on Oct. 6 that the Dominican Commission had selected Juan Bautista Vicini Burgos to be provisional President, pending the setting up of a permanent constitutional government in Santo Domingo. He has not been identified with any of the political parties. Upon his inauguration it was stated the executive departments of the republic would be turned over to the cabinet he appoints. A convention with the United States will then be negotiated, the American Government requiring specific recognition of the bond

\*See CURRENT HISTORY for October, p 173.

issues authorized in 1918 and 1922, against which the people have so bitterly protested. Upon approval by a congress to be elected and the choice of a permanent President, the provisional government will terminate and the American military forces of occupation will leave Santo Domingo.

## HAITI

An issue of \$16,000,000 Haitian thirty-year 6 per cent. bonds was awarded on Sept. 28 to the National City Bank of New York. It forms part of an issue of \$40,000,000 authorized by the protocol between Haiti and the United States signed on Oct. 3, 1919, and is the first dollar loan floated by the republic. Heretofore most of the Haitian financing has been done in France and its outstanding bonds are in francs. The Haitian 5s of 1875, amounting to 19,252,560 francs, and the 5s of 1880, totalling 7,235,300 francs, both fall due this year. The principal purpose of the present loan is to take advantage of the low exchange rate to pay these and refund the loans of 1896 and 1910, amounting to 87,023,425 francs. The balance will be used to develop the country, making public roads and building schoolhouses.

Two new companies, the Oversea Navigation Corporation and the Oversea Trading Company, have been organized by negro bankers to handle the increasing trade with Haiti.

## BERMUDA

A hurricane struck Bermuda on Sept. 21, causing the greatest damage in twenty-five years.

Hotels at Hamilton suffered severely, and some of the smaller buildings on the Isle of Wight were destroyed, but no loss of life was reported.

Hard hit by prohibition in the United States, and the depression in England, manufacturers of Jamaica rum are turning their attention to the conversion of alcohol into motor spirits. Tests have shown slightly better results than gasoline, at a lower cost, and two factories have begun production in quantity.

## VIRGIN ISLANDS

Rear Admiral Sumner E. W. Kittelle, retiring Governor of Virgin Islands, early in September dissolved the Colonial Council of F. Thomas and St. John, owing to the refusal of the Council to meet and the absence of a quorum. The chief cause of the trouble was a paragraph in the Council's report concerning the judiciary, which said: "We do not deem it advisable for one judge to sit and determine appeal cases passed upon by a co-ordinate judge. It is the practice of co-ordinate judges to sustain each other and especially should this be true here." Governor Kittelle said this reflected on the honesty of judges.

Captain H. H. Hough, U. S. N., succeeds Rear Admiral Kittelle as Governor of the islands.

Citizenship is granted to the Virgin Islanders in a bill prepared by the Civil Liberties Union for presentation to Congress. A civil instead of a naval Government is demanded for the islands, along with other civil rights guaranteed to Americans.

# TURKEY'S RACE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

By H. A. HENDERSON

Recently General Y. M. C. A. Secretary for Greece

### To the Editor of Current History:

THE present confused state of public opinion concerning the Turk, caused by the articles of Admiral Chester, Clair Price and others, and the knowledge that many of our representatives in the Near East are showing pro-Turkish sympathies (a protest was sent to the American Government recently against Admiral Bristol because of his pro-Turkish attitude), needs some unprejudiced explanation, and, as one who has been accused of being both pro-Greek and pro-Turk, I may be able to throw some light on these conflicting impressions.

The old saying that "acquaintance softens prejudice" is well illustrated by associating with the various peoples of the Near East. No matter with which of the races one associates, one soon learns to like one's new neighbors, because they exhibit their best traits. It is quite true that in business deals the Turk is honest. Many

American commercial men, especially tobacco dealers, would rather have business relations with the Turk than with any other people of the Near East. The cruelties which have appeared so atrocious to the American mind are not so much an individual characteristic of the Turk as they are a result of his governmental policy. It is undoubtedly true that if the Turk had exercised a lenient policy with the subjugated Christian peoples his Government would have been overthrown long ago by these Christian peoples; in order to maintain his sovereignty over the subjected Greeks, Armenians and Jews he has resorted to extermination and deportation, and in carrying out such a policy the most horrible atrocities are natural results. We can think of people of other nationalities becoming Americans, but it is absolutely impossible for a Greek or an Armenian to become a Turk, even though he lives under a Turkish flag for centuries. At

the same time there are instances of Turkish leniency toward subjected peoples which can be quoted by Turkish sympathizers who wish to close their eyes to the atrocities committed under the direction of the Turkish Government.

A few days after the occupation of Adrianople by the Greek Army I called at the home of the Mufti (the head of the Mohammedan religious body of that city) to pay my respects, as it was his fête day. Being ushered into his large reception room, I found there among the visitors the Metropolitan, or head of the Greek Church of the city. These two dignitaries rose and met me—a lay member of a Protestant church—and, seated together on a broad divan at the end of the beautifully furnished room, we spent a pleasant half hour. I am sure both of these men were conscientious and God-fearing, and that they had the good of their beautiful city at heart.

The great difficulty in the Near East is that the Government is built on national conquest, and that the national idea is based on blood ties or tribal relationships. That is to say, the people owe allegiance rather to their race than to the nation under whose flag they were born. As an illustration: The King in Athens is not considered the King of Greece, but the King of the Greeks. For this reason it is quite true that the Armenian, although for hundreds of years he has lived under the protection of the Turkish flag, still maintains that he has no country, because he is not permitted to make his own laws independently or maintain his own sovereignty. If we admit that a nation has a right to take land by conquest and subject its people, then we shall have to admit that the Turk has a right to keep down the dissatisfied peoples within his borders (the Greeks and Armenians) even by resorting to extermination and deportation.

Today there are many thousands of Greek refugees from Asia Minor and Thrace living in various parts of Greece, awaiting the opportunity to go back to their own homes. Many such refugees from the Balkan wars have been recently assisted by the Greek Government to return to their homes in Thrace and Asia Minor only to be driven out again in the present crisis. The peoples of the Near East have a very strong regard for the place of their birth, and no matter where they go in exile they always look forward to returning. Accordingly, if the Turk should be permitted to retain Asia Minor, and if he should follow his usual method for a time of showing clemency to the returning exiles because he will need a population to rebuild the devastated areas, it is quite likely that these exiles will gradually return to their homes in Asia Minor. The natural result of this return will be a repetition of what has happened so many times under the Turkish

rule, i. e., after a few years the Turk will wake up to the fact that the Christians within his borders are becoming so numerous and influential as to threaten his existence, and again he will do what he has done before—he will resort to extermination and deportation.

Is there a solution of the problem? A solution was offered to me by the man at the head of the school system in a city in Thrace in the Spring of 1920. He spoke as follows:

"This generation is so full of hatred that it will be necessary for us to die before peace can be assured. We are not fit to educate our children. As Greeks we would teach them to hate the Bulgarian and Turk because of the atrocities which they and their parents have suffered. As Bulgarians or Turks we would teach them to hate the Greeks, partly for the same reason and partly because of the territory which the Greeks have taken. Therefore our children must be educated by teachers who are not so filled with hatred. We do not want the European powers to establish schools for our children, because of their conflicting political policies and because they would want to take something from us. You Americans must come and teach our children. If you will come, we will give you grounds, we will give you our children."

Immediately following the Peace Conference all the peoples of the Near East looked to the United States for the adjustment of their difficulties, and even up to the time of the recent successes of the Turkish Army a straightforward offer by the United States to arbitrate for them would no doubt have met with general approval.

The Greek Government during its occupation of Asia Minor and Thrace gave the peoples of those territories, regardless of their racial differences, the most liberal and safest Government they have had for centuries. Now the Turks, flushed with their victories, are bringing upon the Christians of Asia Minor the most terrible calamity that has ever befallen that region. And from the Turkish viewpoint, this no doubt seems the safest way to establish Turkish sovereignty.

With the present spirit in control, the Turks in Thrace can only increase the danger of another Balkan war and jeopardize the peace of the world; but there is still opportunity to change that spirit. The Turks would welcome American enterprise and the coming of a spirit of brotherhood. A generation of peace might so affect the peoples of the Near East that self-determined government could become practical; at least the United States might well undertake such a peaceful mission. There is no longer any foreign country. Constantinople is only twelve days from New York, and America cannot hold herself aloof.



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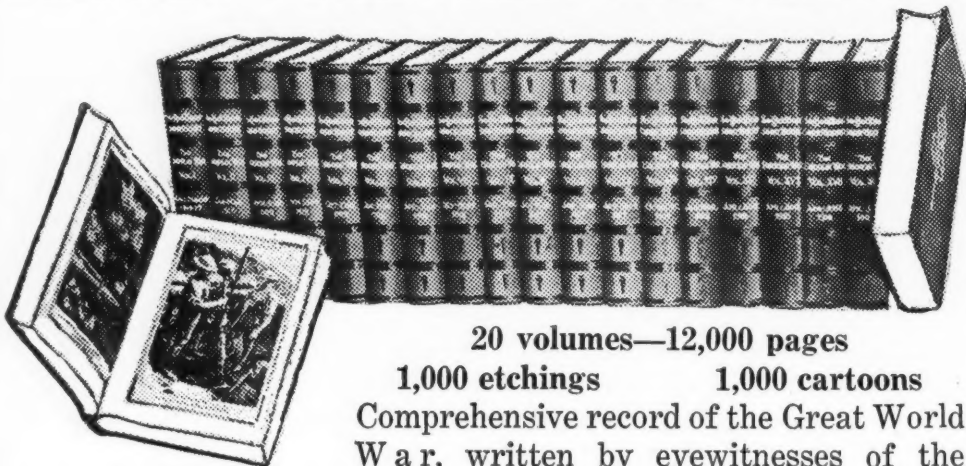
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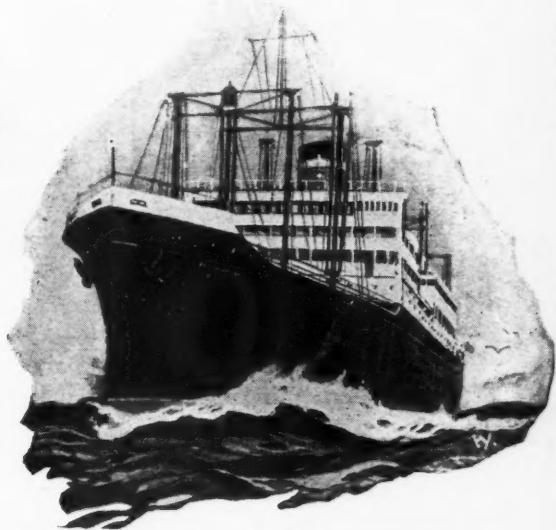
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